1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the
793 *warspoh*.

Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

● [765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
463 At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
173 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

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the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel. 173 234 773

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karkûln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used. 234 621

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked. 177 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. 793

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marpainolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person. [765]

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers. 234 773

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*. 184 234 554

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make it clear whether the child is weaned at this time or continues to be suckled.

When the child is shaved, a bone of a bird called *mâtpül* and a stone procured from the bazaar called *kansutimani* are put round its wrist. The bone is cut into small pieces and strung alternately with pieces of the stone so as to form a kind of bangle. It was said that the child would become ill if this charm were not used, and the name of the stone (*kan* = eye) shows that it is intended to avert the evil eye.

The Tersamptpimi Ceremony

This is a ceremony closely connected with the naming of a child, but only performed after the second funeral (*marvainolkedr*) of a Tarthar man. It seemed probable that at one time the name was actually given during the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, but as the *marvainolkedr* of Tartharol now occur only at considerable intervals, it has become the custom to bestow the name in connexion with the ceremony of uncovering the face.

The ceremony of *tersamptpimi* is performed on the day after the funeral, this day being called *karvnol*, and as in the ceremony of naming, the chief part is taken by the child's maternal uncle. The uncle comes to the village where the child is living, bringing a stake of wood of the wild rose[1] called *kadakmän*. He splits the piece of wood into two pieces, each of which is called *ketkark*, and putting the hair of the child between the two *ketkark*, he cuts off a lock. If the child is of the Tarthar division, the hair is cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*,[2] while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife (*turi*), but both *kanab* and *turi* on this occasion receive the special name of *tersampki*. After cutting the lock of hair, the uncle puts it on one side together with the *ketkark* and the *tersampki*, and if the boy has not already been named, the name is now given by the uncle and a calf promised.

Before this ceremony, the bangle of bone and stone, put

[1] *Rosa Leschenaultiana.* [2] Lit. 'eye arrow.'

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CHAPTER XV

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

THE funeral ceremonies of a Toda may be prolonged over many months. Soon after death the body is burnt and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is *etvainolkedr*, the first day funeral (literally, "first which day funeral"). After an interval which may vary greatly in length, a second ceremony is performed connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The rites on this occasion are more elaborate than at the *etvainolkedr*. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is *marvainolkedr*, the second day funeral, or "again which day funeral." The final scene, in which the relics are burnt and the ashes buried, takes place before daybreak on the morning following the *marvainolkedr*, and this part of the ceremony is known as *azaramkedr*, the name being derived from the *azaram*, or circle of stones within which the final cremation takes place.

The funeral ceremonies are open to all and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institution of the Todas, however, they have become known to Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas *hase kedu*, the fresh or green funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills, but has been widely

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234 Though there is no definite landmark for the killing of the
764 *putiir*, each buffalo is killed at an appointed spot; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 392), the buffalo at the *etvainolkedr* was killed on the left-hand side of the funeral hut.

As soon as the buffalo is felled, the corpse is brought up and placed by the head of the dying animal (Fig. 53). At the funeral of a man, the covering of the body is unfolded and the right hand of the dead man is made to clasp one of the horns. At the funeral of a woman, the body is laid with its feet by the

FIG. 53.—THE CORPSE BY THE HEAD OF THE DYING BUFFALO.

mouth of the buffalo.[1] At the funeral of a Pan man, Kwoten's ring is placed on the finger of the deceased before his hand is made to clasp the horn. Then the men present come to the buffalo and salute it by bowing down and placing their foreheads on the horns and on the head between the horns.

234 The people then group themselves round the buffalo and
764 corpse and cry together by placing forehead to forehead so
765 that their tears and cries mingle. In the case of the sacred

[1] Some observers have stated that the feet of the corpse are placed within the mouth of the buffalo, but I could not confirm this.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 buffalo, wearing the *mani*, this circle is composed of men only.
764 The lament[1] usually consists in calling first the name of the
765 buffalo and then speaking of the dead person, not by his name, but by the term expressing the bond of kinship between the lamenter and the dead. Thus at a funeral at which the buffalo killed was called Pundrs, one man would cry:

"*Pundrsia, en pɔtch aia ivanersia, en pɔtch aia*
O Pundrs, O my father.

I could not ascertain the meaning of *ivanersia*, except that its latter part is the word for buffalo with the vocative termination '*ia*.'

For a son, a man would cry after the name of the buffalo, "*en mokh ɨpa*"; for an elder brother, "*en pɔtch anna*"; and similarly for other relatives. For a wife a man would cry "*iza kughia*," and for a husband a woman cries "*iza mokhia*" (*iza* is merely exclamatory).

It might appear from the form of lamentation that the buffalo itself was regarded as the father, son, &c., of the lamenter, and I could not satisfy myself as to what the people really had in their minds when they were lamenting in this way. It has been supposed that the lamentation is for the slaughtered buffalo, and I am unable positively to say that this is not the case. It is probable that the people grieve for the departure of one of their much-loved buffaloes, but I do not think that there is any decisive evidence that they are lamenting for the buffalo rather than for the dead person.

764 Within the group of mourners there is much going hither
765 and thither. After two people have mourned together for a while they separate, and each seeks a new partner with whom
576 to lament. When separating, the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* often takes place, and, as in general, it is the younger of each pair who bows down his head and raises each foot of the other so that it touches his forehead. It seemed to be the duty of everyone to salute certain of the older men in this way; and round these men there would be a continual coming and going, each person saluting by placing his head beneath the feet of the elder. At times the band of mourners would

[1] More elaborate laments are given on pp. 385-8.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

764 form a confused mass of struggling people, some crying
765 forehead to forehead, others saluting head to foot, while others
576 would be struggling through the mass to seek partners with whom to mourn (Fig. 55).

THE CLOTH-GIVING CEREMONY

764 During or after the lamentation a ceremony is performed
602 which is known as *kachüttht*i[1] (*kach*, cloth, *üttht*i or *üti*ti, he
618

FIG. 55—THE MOURNERS ROUND THE BODY.

puts). The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a near relative of the dead person to those who have married into his family, and the cloth is placed on the dead body by the wives of those to whom it is given. This ceremony takes place at the funerals of both sexes and for members of all clans. It is an inconspicuous ceremony, and with one exception[2] has escaped the observation of all those who have previously witnessed and recorded the procedure of

[1] This ceremony is also called *kachpaltchpimi*.

[2] Natesa Sastri, *Madras Mail*, Aug. 28th, 1894.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 At some time during the day, Kotas will have arrived, some to act as musicians (Fig. 56), others to take the flesh of the slaughtered buffaloes. The musicians play on their instruments, which may include a clarionet, a drum, tambourine, and brass horn, though usually I saw only the clarionet and drum. The musicians become especially active while the body is consuming. The other Kotas, who carry sharp sticks on which to carry away the flesh, begin to cut up the

FIG. 56.—KOTAS PLAYING MUSIC AT A TODA FUNERAL.

buffaloes as soon as the people have left the neighbourhood of the funeral hut. On more than one occasion I noticed Tamil women sitting not far from the funeral scene, and was told that they had come to buy some of the flesh from the Kotas, and I believe that it is not unknown for the flesh to find its way to the bazaar at Ootacamund.

764 Before the body is finally placed on the fire, a lock of hair 765 is cut from the head to serve as one of the relics for the second funeral. It is cut by a near relative of the dead person; in the case of Sinerani, it was cut off by her boy-

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

husband. According to Breeks,[1] one of the nails should also be removed, but I could not hear of this being done at the present time, and similarly I heard nothing of the practice of keeping the knee-cap bone, which is said by Hough [2] to have been preserved. When the burning is over, a piece of the skull is sought from among the ashes, and this, together with the hair, is put within two pieces of bark and wrapped in a cloak to be kept for the *marvainolkedr*.

The remainder of the ashes are left on the burning-ground till they are dispersed by wind and rain.

Some Special Funeral Ceremonies

In the previous account certain ceremonies which may be performed by special individuals have been omitted. In general, at the funeral of a man, the part of chief mourner and director of the ceremonies is taken by a brother or son of the deceased. At the funeral of a woman the husband takes the chief place.

While the mourning is going on, a ceremony will have been performed if the dead person should be a man or woman whose spouse is still alive. The husband of a dead woman goes to one of his *paiol*, most commonly to his father-in-law, if he is living, and the *paiol* draws up the cloak of the widower so that it covers his head. The man who has his head covered in this way is called *mad ár mitch nidvai*, "head on covered who stands" (see Fig. 61). The widower keeps his head covered in this way as a sign of mourning and does not take off the cloak till the end of the second funeral. When the *paiol* has arranged the cloak of the mourner, the two men cry together with forehead to forehead.

Similarly the wife of a dead man has her cloak drawn over her head as a sign of mourning, and this is done for her by her own father or someone of his clan who takes his place. This ceremony is performed by a relative of the woman, whether it is husband or wife who is dead.

It is the duty of the widower or widow to mix the grain and honey which is put into a bowl on the bier.

[1] P. 21. [illegible] p. 81.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 Other special ceremonies fall to the lot of the *mokhthodvaiol* or *sedvaitazmokh* of the dead person if there should be such. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman is the recognised lover whom she may have in addition to her husband or husbands. The *sedvaitazmokh* is the name of the woman in this Toda institution. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a dead woman goes to the funeral wearing his ring on the ring finger of the left hand. Before the buffalo is caught he pays the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to the father of the woman; bows down before him and raises each foot to his head. He then puts into the pocket of the cloak of the woman some limes, three handfuls (*mudteir*) of *patcherski* and one large piece of jaggery. He also puts a piece of the dark cloth called *än* into the pocket of the cloak, this act being called *än kudshk it pudithti*. The *mokhthodvaiol* asks the husband of the woman three times "*än kudsh idukina?*" ("Shall I put *än* into the *kudsh*?") and the husband answers each time "*idu!*" In putting the various things into the pocket, the *mokhthodvaiol* has to use his left hand throughout.

765 837

When a man dies his *sedvaitazmokh*, if there be one, goes to the funeral ceremony wearing a ring on the ring finger of her left hand, and similarly puts limes, grain, jaggery, and a piece of *än* into the pocket of the dead man's mantle. Before doing this the brothers of the dead man do *kalmelpudithti* to the father of the woman, and this was said to be done in order to obtain permission from him for his daughter to put things into the cloak.

766 At the funeral of a girl, or of a childless woman, there are performed the ceremonies of *urvatpimi* and *pursütpimi* which are usually performed during pregnancy. In life the *urvatpimi*, or hand-burning ceremony, is performed before that of *pursütpimi*, but after death the order may be reversed. These ceremonies are most frequently performed at the funerals of children, and a full description may be reserved till a later section (see p. 391).

In the case of an adult the ceremony is only performed if it has not been performed in life. If a woman dies in the later months of pregnancy after these ceremonies have taken place, they would not be performed at the funeral.

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If an unmarried boy dies, a girl who should be the *matchuni* of the dead boy, is chosen to act as his wife. It seemed that the girl might be of any age, but she must be unmarried, and therefore must nearly always be young. One of the elder brothers of the dead boy performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to the girl's father, or if there are no brothers this will be done by the boy's father. The head of the girl is then covered with her mantle by her father and the girl puts food into the pocket of the mantle of the dead boy. Thus, there is no *pursütpimi* ceremony in the case of an unmarried boy, but a girl is chosen to act as his widow would have done if he had been married. 766

At the funeral of a Teivali or Melgars male who has not held any dairy office, a piece of *tudr* bark is placed in the right hand of the deceased by a man of the Tartharol. Every male of the Teivaliol or Melgarsol who has been a dairyman of any grade will have been purified with *tudr* bark during the ordination ceremonies, and the piece of bark is only given after death to those who have not been so purified.

The Interval between the two Funerals

As soon as the body is consumed at the *etvainolkedr*, the people go home, the near relatives taking with them the relics of the deceased. These relics are enclosed in two pieces of bark called *pittüdri*, taken from the tree called *mättmän*. I was once told that *tudr* bark was used, but this is unlikely. The relics and bark are covered with plain cloth, and the whole is enclosed in a mantle of the kind ordinarily worn. 765

The relics, which are known as the *kedr*, are not taken to the chief village (*etudmad*) of the clan, but to other villages, usually to a definitely appointed village for each clan. If the clan should only have one village, or if the appointed village should be inconveniently distant, a small hut may be especially built in which to keep the relics till the second funeral. The near relatives of the dead person may not go to the chief village in the interval between the first and second funerals. If they are living at the chief village at the time of the death,

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765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 783 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 783 616 618 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *pushut*, and incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—*i.e.*, they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mòrol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *pushut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

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clan in which the death has occurred must tie their hair in a knot in front, as is shown in the case of the second man in Fig. 61.[1] This method of wearing the hair is called *mad tutvai*, or "head (or hair) who rolls." When the people of a clan are in this condition they must not hold any of the feasts in which the food called *ashkkarthpimi* is used, but they may attend as guests at feasts held in the villages of other clans.

A person who is keeping the funeral ceremonies should not traverse the path by which the *ti* buffaloes go from one grazing ground to another. The ostensible reason why the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* did not journey to Anto at their usual time in 1902 (see p. 131) was that Teitnir, whose wife had died, had passed over the road. The *ti* buffaloes, also, may not pass a place where the relics of a dead person are being kept between the two funerals. In 1902 the relics of the dead wife of Teitnir were removed from the village of Karia in order that they should not be in the way of the buffaloes. On this occasion the relics were followed by a procession of people and Teitnir gave a feast. This was said to be very unorthodox, and on cross-examination it was found that the procession and the feast were not connected with one another, the latter being part of another ceremony which was being performed on the same day.[1]

There are special regulations for widowers and widows—*i.e.*, for those who have their heads covered at the *etvainolkedr*. While they wear the mantle over the head they must never put out their hand or arm from above the mantle, but always from below. When they salute by raising the hand to the forehead (*kainukhti*), they must do so by putting out their hand below the cloak, and in eating and all other acts they must do the same. When the mantle is over the head, it is probably most convenient to put the hand out of the mantle from below rather than from above, but it was quite clear that it was now regarded as wrong to do the latter.

[1] This experience gave me a very striking object-lesson, showing how easy it is to make mistakes in anthropological investigation. The first account given to me seemed to make it absolutely clear that the removal of the relics was made the occasion of a feast.

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765 When a man crosses the Paikara or Avalanche rivers he must usually do so *kevenarut*, with his right arm outside his mantle, but if he has the mantle over his head as a sign of mourning he merely protrudes his right hand, so that it can be seen below the mantle. Similarly, the throwing of water done by *matchuvi* (see p. 501), when they cross these rivers on certain days, is not done by people of a family in which there has been a death—*i.e.*, not between the two funerals—but they only chew the grass, which is the preliminary act of the ceremony.

[769] The mourner who has his head covered has certain restrictions in regard to his food. A widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow. This fasting on each weekly return of the day of death suggests that some rite is, or used to be, performed on this day, but I did not obtain an account of any such ceremony. The day of the week on which a man dies is always observed by his children, and is called *arpatsnol*.

234 764 793 The *wursol* who attends to kill the sacred buffalo loses his office by so doing, and becomes a *perol*. Similarly, if a *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmakh* wish to attend the funeral of a relative, he can only do so by giving up his office, and this is a common cause of change in the various dairies. The dairyman who has thus given up his office often resumes it when the funeral ceremonies are completed, and if he expresses his intention of returning, the temporary occupant is often said to be doing the work for the other.

765 Between the two funerals it is the duty of every Toda who was not present at the *etvainolkedr* to salute the remains. When anyone visits the village where the remains are kept for this purpose the cloth containing the relics is brought out and the visitor bows down and touches the cloth with his forehead, just as is done with the body at the funeral. When I visited the village at which the *kedr* of Olidjeimi was being kept my Toda guide took the opportunity of performing his duty to the remains, and I was able to witness the reverent way in which the duty is performed. While I was on the

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hills, Tersveli, the wife of Teitnir, died while Sintagars was in the seclusion hut after the birth of her first child, and on the morning on which Sintagars went from the *pushars* to the *aliars* (see p. 327), she visited Karia to salute the *kedr* of Tersveli. Her first act after her period of seclusion was to show her respect to the remains of her dead relative. If anyone is too ill or feeble to visit the village the remains may be taken to them for salutation.

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CHAPTER XVI

FUNERAL CEREMONIES—*continued*

THE MARVAINOLKEDR

765 766 177 THE second funeral may be held little more than a month after the *etvainolkedr*, or there may be an interval of a year or more, and in the case of a child both funeral ceremonies may be performed on one day. In the old days the *marvainolkedr* was a great occasion. The proceedings lasted for two whole days, and were prolonged till daybreak of the third. Many buffaloes were slaughtered; they were caught on the first day, when they were shut up in the circular pen and bells put on their necks. On the second day they were taken from the pen to the slaughtering place, and various ceremonies took place in connexion with and after their deaths. This kind of funeral was called *tuiṭthkedr*, meaning "the putting in buffalo-pen funeral." In the old days this putting into the pen was sometimes omitted, especially in the case of poor or unimportant people, and the catching and killing of the buffaloes were both carried out on one day, and this kind of funeral was known as *marppiṭkedr*. At the present time the Todas only have the *marppiṭkedr*, owing to the restrictions on the number of buffaloes killed. The Todas seem now to believe that the Government have actually prohibited them from putting the buffaloes into the pen at the funerals, but I could not find that this was the case.

765 177 It is now the custom, and seems long to have been so, to hold the *marvainolkedr* of several people at the same time. The Government allows two buffaloes to be killed for each

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

person, and if two or more funerals are held simultaneously it gives an appearance of the olden times. So far as I could ascertain, however, the funerals of two or more people only take place together when they belong to the same clan.

In some cases, however, the funeral places of two or more clans are very near one another. In such a case there might be a certain amount of combination of the different ceremonies, but some of the rites would be carried out at different spots for each clan. Something of this kind appears to have happened at the funeral ceremonies recorded by Mr. Thurston (*Bull.* i., p. 176). Similarly the *marvainolkedr* of a man or woman of the same clan may be held simultaneously owing to the fact that the funeral places for the two sexes are usually close to one another. The buffaloes would, however, be killed at different places, and the remains would not be burnt and buried at the same *azaram*.

Owing to the custom of having the *marvainolkedr* of several people simultaneously, it has often been supposed that the Todas have a kind of anniversary ceremony for all those who have died during the year, but there is no doubt that this is wrong. There was a large *marvainolkedr* soon after I left the hills (in January, 1903), but it was a ceremony for two women only, Narskuti (63 and 56), and Tersveli (63 and 52), both belonging to the Kuudrol, and it was held at Kurkalmut, the proper funeral place for the women of Kuudr. It is quite possible that owing to the restrictions on the slaughter of buffaloes it may become more and more the custom to hold several *marvainolkedr* simultaneously, and that this custom may develop into an anniversary ceremony. This could only come about, however, by throwing over the custom that the funerals of each clan should be held at a definitely appointed place, and there is no doubt that this has not yet happened.

At the second funeral ceremony the relics are placed in a special hut, and at a man's funeral the hut has the same name as at the *etvainolkedr*, and apparently it may sometimes happen that the same hut is used at both ceremonies. The second funeral is not always held, however, at the same place

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765 as the first, and the interval between the two ceremonies may
349 be so great that it may have become necessary to rebuild the hut. At the only *marvainolkedr* at which I was present a new hut had been built for the occasion.

The hut at the second funeral of a woman differs in name from that of the first funeral, being called *kursars* instead of *nersars*. After the second funeral the *kursars* is burnt down, but my notes do not make it clear whether the *nersars* is always burnt down after the first funeral, or whether it may not sometimes be kept for the second ceremony. The difference of name, however, makes this improbable.

If the *marvainolkedr* of two or more people are held simultaneously, a hut is built for the remains of each; thus, at the ceremony in January, 1903, there were two huts, one for Narskuti and the other for Tersveli.

765 The relics, now called the *narskedr*, are brought to the funeral place on a bier made of bamboo, and called *kail-pedrkudr* instead of *mänpedrkudr* (wood bier) as at the first funeral. The *narskedr* is wrapped in an embroidered mantle (*pukuruputkuli*) and placed in the hut, and then all the women of the dead person's division who are present cry together, forehead to forehead, in the usual manner. The chief things to be burnt with the remains are also placed within the hut.

At a funeral witnessed by Mr. Thurston the relics were taken from a hole cut at the base of a tree, and the hair was unwrapped from off the skull, burnt in an iron ladle, and anointed with clarified butter before being placed in its cloth. This was probably a ceremony which should have been performed on the following morning at the *azaramkedr* (see p. 379).

As on the former occasion, a man's funeral begins with the ceremony of earth-throwing, which is carried out in the same way as at the *etvainolkedr*. The *narskedr* is laid at the entrance of the buffalo pen, and earth is thrown into the pen and on the remains in the manner already described. There is nothing corresponding to the *tiveri tur* ceremony of the woman's first funeral.

At the present time the driving, catching, and killing of the buffaloes are carried out in very much the same way as at the

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etvainolkedr. At the funerals of Teivaliol the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol and killed by Teivaliol of a clan different to that of the deceased. At the funerals of the Tartharol the buffaloes are caught by Teivaliol, and killed by the *wursol* or by a Tarthar man of a different clan, according as they are of the sacred or ordinary kind.

As the buffalo dies, the *narskedr* is brought up and laid by the head of the animal, and the lamenting and saluting take place around the buffalo and the remains, exactly as at the first funeral.

Sometimes a ceremony occurs immediately before the buffalo is caught. A man takes a ring of the creeper called *kakkudri* and throws it at one of the driven buffaloes. It should fall on the horns or neck of one of the buffaloes, but it does not matter whether on a buffalo which is to be killed or on another.

This throwing of the creeper, which is called *kakkudri ersimi*, or *kudri ersimi*,[1] "we throw the creeper," is done by the *wursol* at a Tarthar funeral, while at the funeral of the Teivaliol it is done by a *palikartmokh* of the same clan as the deceased. This ceremony used not to be performed at those funerals which lasted two days, when the buffaloes were shut into a pen on one day and killed on the next, but it should always be performed when the funeral ceremonies are limited to one day. It seems possible that the circular ring of creeper may be intended to represent the act of putting the animals in the circular pen, but the Todas could give me no information on this point. It seemed clear that it is only done at those funerals in which the buffaloes are not put into the pen.

The Kodtiti Ceremony

Among the Tartharol, with the exception of the people of Melgars, a ceremony is performed at the funeral of a male which is called *kodtiti*. In this ceremony blood is used which in the present day is drawn from one of the slaughtered buffaloes, but formerly a special buffalo was killed for this purpose.

[1] *Kudri* is the generic word for creeper.

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765 234 177 783 According to the old custom the buffaloes were killed about four o'clock in the afternoon. About an hour later another buffalo of the ordinary kind was brought to the funeral place and killed by striking it on the head with a stone, and not with the back of an axe, as in the case of the other buffaloes. It might be killed by any Tarthar man, and then the *wursol* made a cut in the right side of the animal at the part called *kegampkwṅdr* (over the ribs near the forelegs). The blood which ran from the wound was received into a cup made of *tudr* leaves, and powdered *tudr* bark was mixed with the blood in the cup. It is to this part of the ceremony that the name *kodtiti* ("blood he takes") is properly applied. At the present time the blood is drawn from one of the buffaloes killed in the ordinary course of the ceremony. However the blood may be obtained, the next step is to bring a female buffalo calf less than one year old. The mantle with which the remains have been covered is taken off, and is worn by a Teivali man who has adorned himself with many ornaments, including those ordinarily worn by women, such as the chain (*tagars*), necklace (*keiveli*), earrings (*kevthveli*), and bracelet (*pulthi*). He also holds a long pole called *tadri*. The remains, which are now covered with a loincloth (*tadrp*) only, are carried by two women to the place where the calf is standing.

The *wursol* and Teivali man then walk to the calf, the former throwing before and behind him as he walks the mixed blood and *tudr* bark from the cup. When the *wursol* comes to the calf he throws down the leaf cup, and the Teivali man then hangs on the neck of the calf a bell of the kind called *tukulir mani*, and, taking a bow and arrow in his hand, he says three times to the Tartharol, "*purs adiktna?*"—"Shall I touch with the bow?" Each time the Tartharol reply, "*Purs ad!*" The Teivali man then touches the remains with the bow and arrow. He puts down the *tadri* on the ground, and the calf is driven away from the spot on which it had been standing. As soon as it begins to move all present, Tartharol and Teivaliol, cry out, "*ua! ua!*" and fall down and touch the earth with their foreheads. The bell is then removed from the calf, which is not killed, but is allowed to go free.

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but is allowed to go free. The bell (*tukulir mani*) is kept by the Kotas or Badagas till it is required by the Todas for another funeral.

The assumption of the cloak covering the remains by the Teivali man is called *drtârverutiti*, and the throwing of the mixed blood and bark by the *wursol* is called *kedrkarchiti*—*i.e.*, funeral (or remains) purifying. Either at this stage or later the blood and *tudr* bark are rubbed on the piece of skull and hair which form the *narzkedr*.

One of the most important features of this *kodtiti* ceremony is that the sacred *tudr* bark is used The ceremony is not performed at the funerals of the Teivaliol or of the Melgarsol, because they may use *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies for the offices of *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*.

The object of the ceremony appears to be that members of those clans who have no chance of being purified with *tudr* during life shall be purified with this substance before they go finally to Amnòdr. A Teivali or Melgars man, however, has only used *tudr* if he has been ordained to one of the three offices above mentioned. If the dead man has not been through an ordination ceremony, however, the purification does not take place at his second funeral, but a Tarthar man puts a piece of *tudr* bark into his right hand at the first funeral (see p. 367).

In the account which Breeks gives of this ceremony he states that certain formulæ are said, including "*Karma odi pona*," "May the sin run away." I could not confirm this, and I do not believe that *karma* is a Toda word. It is probable that the use of these or other formulæ is an innovation.

The Badagas of the Nilgiris let loose a calf at a funeral to bear the sins of the deceased.[1] It is possible that the calf in this Toda ceremony may have the same significance. If so, the practice has not improbably been borrowed, and the fact that the bell which is hung on the neck of the calf is kept by Kotas or Badagas suggests that the whole incident may have been borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these races.

[1] See Thurston, *Bull.*, ii. p. 4.

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765 535 After the buffalo is killed dancing takes place at the funeral of a male. The men only dance and they may begin soon after the killing of the buffalo, while other ceremonies are still in progress. In the dancing the same tall pole (*tadri* or *tadrsi*) is used as is carried by the Teivali man who wears the cloak of the *narskedr*. It is a tall pole which, it was said, might sometimes be as much as 39 feet in length. I only saw a *tadri* at one funeral, when it was much smaller. It is decorated with rings of cowries, which are called *ntrpul*, the ornaments in general being called *tadri asteram* (see Fig. 67).

[439] The pole is procured from Malabar through the Kurumbas. It is used at the funeral of males only of both the Teivaliol and Tartharol, and is burnt at the end of the *azaramkedr*.

In the only dance which I had the opportunity of seeing the men danced within the circular wall surrounding the funeral hut. In this case the floor of the enclosure was below the general level of the ground. The men formed a circle and danced round in slow step; one man said the name of the slaughtered buffalo—in this case, Purkirsi—and another repeated this name; then the first man said "*hau! hau!*" which was repeated by the second man.

After a time one of the men took the *tadri* and they danced round in a similar way, taking the pole with them as they danced (*i.e.*, they did not dance round the pole).

After the dancing is over, food is distributed to all the people present and most return to their homes, while the remainder wait at the funeral place till the following morning, when are held the final ceremonies, which are known as the *azaramkedr*.

THE AZARAMKEDR

765 This is the name applied to the ceremonies connected with the final burning of the remains and burial of the ashes. After food has been distributed at the *marvainolkedr*, many of those attending the funeral return home. The remainder stay at the spot during the evening, those nearly related to the deceased lamenting in the usual fashion almost continuously. At a funeral attended by Samuel, the people took

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the setting of Kadsht and the appearance of Keirt[1] as the indications that the final ceremonies were to begin, and this was about two o'clock on the following morning.

At every funeral place used for the *marvainolkedr*, there is a circle of stones, smaller than that in which the hut is built, with an opening which in some cases faces the east. This circle of stones is the *asaram*, and before the ceremonies begin, a man digs a hole by the opening in its side. The various objects to be burnt with the remains are now brought from the hut in which they had been placed on the previous day, and are laid outside the *asaram* and the *narskedr* is laid by their side. As the remains are removed from the hut, the wailing becomes louder and the people cry bitterly. Outside the stone circle a fire is made of the wood called *kidmän*,[2] upon which clarified butter is poured. This fire, which is known as the *puntüt*, is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased. At the funeral of a male, there is burnt on this fire the dairy vessel called *ertatpun* which had belonged to the dead man, and the imitation buffalo horns called *petkuter*, about ten in number for a man and five for a boy. At the funeral of a woman, I think that a *majpatitthpun* is burnt, viz., a vessel used for fetching buttermilk from the dairy, but I am not certain of this.

There now follows the ceremony called *narsatipimi*, *i.e.*, "the *nars* we rub," in which the leading part is taken by a person of the same sex as the deceased. I only have a full record of this ceremony at a woman's funeral, and in this case a woman took the relics out of their covering, and threw away the pieces of bark in which they had been enclosed. She rubbed butter on the pieces of skull and the hair, put the hair between two pieces of skull, tied them together with thread, and replaced them in the ornamented cloak (*pukuruputkuli*). She then bowed down and touched the remains with her forehead, and then this salutation was performed by all those present.

At a funeral seen by Mr. Thurston,[3] this ceremony was performed on the previous day at the *marvainolkedr*, and in

[1] See Chap. XXV.

[2] Probably *Olea robusta*.

[3] *Bull.*, i. 176.

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this case the hair was burnt in an iron ladle before the clarified butter was applied.

This ceremony of *narsatipimi* is performed by the daughter-in-law of a woman, or by the mother-in-law of a girl or woman who has no daughter-in-law. At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63) it was performed by Piliurs, the wife of Tüliners (56), the son of the dead woman. At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), a much younger woman, who had no daughter-in-law, the relics were anointed by Muteimi (52 and 69), the mother of Teitnir, Tersveli's husband. I have no record of the person who performs this ceremony at the funeral of a man.

The next step in the proceedings is to light a fire within the circle of stones, this fire being called the *azaramtüt*. Firewood is put within the *azaram* and the *narskedr* in its covering is placed on the wood. If the *azaramkedr* is being held for two or more people simultaneously, the remains of all are put on the wood together.[1] In the pockets of the mantles forming the coverings are placed grain, jaggery, and coins. The *azaramtüt* is then lighted by taking three firebrands in succession from the *puntüt*. The firebrands are placed on the firewood and on the remains by the daughter-in-law or mother-in-law of a female as in the last ceremony.[2] Then all the people take up the burning wood from the *puntüt* and place it within the *azaram* over the remains. The various objects previously brought from the funeral hut are now placed on the fire and burnt, and the special food known as *ashkkarthpimi* may be thrown into the fire. Then all the people cry together, forehead to forehead.

The following are the objects burnt with the remains on the *azaramtüt*, at the funeral of a male:—

(*a*) In the pocket of the cloak, jaggery, the husked grain called *patcherski*, husked barley (*kodjerski*), and rupees in two

[1] As I have already pointed out, this would only happen if the people were of the same clan and sex.

[2] My notes do not make it absolutely clear who lights the fire at the funeral of a male. The *puntüt* is lighted by a man of the same clan, and this is probably also the case with the *azaramtüt*. Owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, the daughter-in-law who lights the fire at a woman's funeral will also be of the same clan as the deceased.

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bags, one called *tinkani*, made by the Todas themselves, and the other called *katshiram*, procured from Hindus.

(*b*) Sticks of the following kinds of wood: *pars*, *karneizi tavai*, *kali*, *toarsmitch*, *kar*.

(*c*) A *naumakud*, a club or stick cut from the *pars* tree (Fig. 67).

(*d*) A *tadri*, or long pole used in the dance and in the *kodtiti* ceremony of the previous day.

(*e*) Several *wak*, bamboo vessels filled with grain, butter, ghi, honey, &c., usually ten in number for adults and five for children.

(*f*) A *tek*, a basket made by the Kotas in which barley or poppy heads are put.

(*g*) A bow (*purs*) and three arrows (*ab*) (Fig. 67).

(*h*) A *kafkati*, or knife, called on ordinary occasions *kudrval*.

(*i*) A *masth*, the axe used to kill the buffaloes on the previous day, called on this occasion *trktpmasth*.

(*j*) A *miturkwadr*, the palm-leaf umbrella, so called because procured from Mitur in the Wainad.

(*k*) A *kudshmurn*, a special kind of sieve made by the Kotas and not used in ordinary life.

At the funeral of a woman boxes called *pettei* or *miturpettei* are burnt instead of the *wak*. These are small boxes made of rattan, covered with cloth and adorned with cowries. There are also burnt the three objects especially connected with women, the pounder (*wask*), sieve (*murn*), and broom (*kip*), but the pounder is only burnt after the following ceremony has taken place.

As soon as the things have been placed on the fire, there follows the ceremony[1] called *trsankâti*. At the funeral of a male, the *matchuni*, or cousin, of the dead man puts on the woman's ornaments known as *tagars*, *keiveli*, and *pulthi*, and stands at the opening in the circle of stones with his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*). He is joined there by the man who has lighted the fire, and they cry together, both standing at the entrance of the *asaram*, where they

[1] There was some question as to whether the ceremony did not begin as soon as the fire was lighted.

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602 remain till the fire is extinguished. Owing to the fact that
605 the fire is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased,
765 the two men who cry together will also be *matchuni*—thus, at the funeral of Karspisti (12), the fire was lighted by his half-brother Karzo. Pakhwar (16), who performed the *irsankati* ceremony, was the *matchuni* of both Karzo and Karspisti, being the son of the brother of Tedjveli, the mother of Karzo and stepmother of Karspisti.

At the funeral of a female, the woman who stands at the entrance should also be a *matchuni* of the deceased. She is decorated with ornaments, in this case proper to her own sex, and she stands at the entrance of the *asaram* holding the pounder. She is joined by a woman closely related to the deceased and the two women cry together. After crying together for a while, they go round the circle and then put the pounder on the fire, after which they take off their ornaments.

At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63), Mutkadrk (56 and 72) stood in front of the circle holding the pounder, and was joined by Munat, the daughter of the dead woman.

At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), Edjog (56) stood at the entrance; she was the *matchuni* of the dead woman, being the daughter of Tüliners, the brother of Tersveli's mother. She was joined by Teimidz (52), the sister of the dead woman's husbands.

177 The fire is now extinguished by pouring on water
765 (*kédr tüt ârs kudrchi*). Some of the food put into the pocket of the *putkuli* and in the various vessels may now be taken out[1] and given to the Kotas, who up to this time have been playing the special funeral tunes called *sagerthkwelv*.

765 The ashes are now swept into the hole which had been dug at the opening in the stone circle. They are covered with earth dug from elsewhere and the spot is covered with a stone.

At the funeral of a male, a man of the same clan as the deceased then brings a bell (*kwungg*) and goes round the

[1] This would seem to indicate that when the fire is extinguished, the objects burnt with the relics are far from being consumed by the fire.

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burial-place three times ringing the bell, while another man goes with him holding him by the waist. The man who rings the bell then takes a new pot, ordinarily used for carrying water, and, raising it over his head, brings it down and breaks it on the stone covering the ashes. He bows down and touches the stone with his forehead, gets up, and goes away to the funeral hut without looking back toward the *azaram*. All the others present bow down to the stone in the same way and go away from the spot without looking back. The ceremony of bell-ringing and stone-saluting is called *kwungg tûki kârs ŋersatiti*, "bell lift, stone he salutes."

At the funeral of a woman, the bell is rung and the pot broken by her husband or by one of his brothers if he be dead. If it is the husband, he will have been wearing the cloak over his head[1] up to this time, and he takes it off just before he bows down to salute the stone. At the funeral of her husband, a widow will similarly remove the cloak from her head before she salutes the stone.

After saluting at the *azaram*, all go to the funeral hut, where they take food, having fasted during the night. Each person cuts a lock of hair from the head as a sign of mourning and then all return home.

At the funeral of a woman, the funeral hut is burnt before the people leave, this being called *ars pon atipimi*, "house up we send." It is the duty of the woman who first lighted the *azaramtût* to set fire to the hut.

The foregoing account of the second funeral ceremonies is that of the proceedings at the present time. When the *marvainolkedr* was prolonged over two days, the proceedings of the first day opened with the capture of the buffaloes, which were put in the pen, and then followed a scene in which the Todas entered the pen, flourishing heavy clubs. The animals were belaboured and driven round and round the pen, and at intervals several men would catch and hold down a buffalo. According to some accounts the bells were hung round the necks of the buffaloes during this performance, but at a funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse[2] this was not done, and he believed that the

[1] See p. 365.

[2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii. p 35

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234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their
541 agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells
765 were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing, and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the
787 second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner,
627 and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals, having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself. In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

Funeral Laments

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising
765 the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

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539
765

other was also composed by Teitnir for the first funeral ceremony of Pidrvan (9) of Kars.

The Toda name for these laments is *kunedstkin* or *kunedsti*, and certain men have great reputations as composers both for funerals and on other occasions, and Teitnir was one of these. The following is the lament for Tersveli :—

Isa	*kûgk*	*ia*,[1]	*iza*	*kutei*,	*atûth*
O	woman	oh !	O	woman,	not born before
atia,	*pervoth*	*perpia*,	*pûv*	*trsimitch*	*ia*
you were born,	renowned	you were born,	flower	lime	oh !
pûv	*elet*	*ia*,	*kavath*	*kud*	*katethik*,
flower	(a bush)	oh !	proper husband (?)	found	you married,
pattth	*kud*	*patiathenk*,	*tevukkk*		*nurs*
proper wife	found	I married,	(*kwarsam* of Piedr) to		beautiful
fr	*notei*	*kudrthenk*,	*ûtthkark*	*nurs*	*mokk*
buffalo	looked	I gave,	(*kwarsam* of Kuudr) to	beautiful	woman
notei	*patiathenk*,	*kuteia*	*mun*	*kutenothuk*,	*kokiji*[2]
looked	I married,	built	house	we built,	imitation bracelets
kis	*narsiathûk*	*kûter*		*kis*	*narsiathûk*,
made	we played,	imitation buffalo horns		made	we played,
ûr	*mokk*	*puckiathûk*,	*ûr*	*fr*	*tû*
six	children	we would produce,	six	buffalo	pen
odethûk,	*orppasan* (?)	*oithîk*	*pudrkwadr*		*ners*
we would enjoy,	liberal	you were,	umbrella tree		shade
oithîk,	*from*	*od*	*ithothûk*,	*pukkom*	
you were,	we will live	that	we thought,	we will go together	
ed	*peithûk*,	*kaluv*	*fr*	*kudathûk*,	*pûa* *tadri*
that	we went,	strong	buffalo	we bought,	? pole
pusiathûk	*tudu*	*athi*	*od*	*kudrtethûk*,	*uli* *athi* *ed*
we beat,	fine	it is	that	we gave,	have it is that
kudrt thûk,	*kutei ath*	*kotei*	*peithûk*,	*keirtith*	*keir*
we gave,	built	bungalow	we went,	running waters	reservoir
peithûk,	*ô*	*katcheri*	*peithûk*,	*ô*	*kapel*
we went,	seven	courts (law)	we went,	seven	ships
peithûk	*paûk*	*nuri*	*ituthûk*,	*pash*	*it*
we went,	Tamil to	complaints	we spoke,	words	spoke

[1] This is also the usual vocative termination.

[2] *Kokeji* is the Kota name for a toe-ring worn on the second toe of the right foot by Kota women (see Breeks, p. 123). A similar word is used for bracelets of vine made by the Todas as a game.

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533 *pudìk* *kisthûk* *pudìk* *it* *pudìk* *kisthûk*,
539 prize we won (made), prize spoke prize we won,
765 *ûkudrem* *ad* *thûk*, *kan* *sufim*
we will not be shaken that we said, eye we will not fear

ed *thûk*, *mûn* *ûnem* *ed* *thûk*, *en* *it*
that we said, face ? that we said, me here

puckvluia, *en* *it* *ptskvlnia*, *purs* *kan* *ulr*
keep you went, me here leave you went, right eye water

ptrevinen, *purs* *metûvi* *kurseivlnen*, *patnenk* *kandnen*,
I shed, right nostril I smart, I bewailed I could not find,

pesoduthenk *kandnen*, *enk* *ud* *swâmi* *aivlnen*.[1]
I called out I could not find, to me one god I have.

The free translation of this is as follows:—

"O woman of wonderful birth, renowned were you born, O flower, lime, O flower, tree. Having found a proper husband you married; having found a prope. wife I married. I gave my best buffalo to Piedr for you. I took you as a beauty to Kuudr. A house we built, bracelets and buffalo horns we made in sport. I thought we should have had many children and many buffaloes should we have enjoyed. Liberal you were and refreshing like the shade of the umbrella tree. We thought that we should live long. We went together as we willed. We bought strong buffaloes and we prevailed over injustice. Peacefully we paid our fine. We lent to those that had not. We went to see the bungalows and the reservoir. Many courts we visited and ships also. We laid complaints before the native magistrate; we made bets and we won. We said that we would not be shaken and would fear the eye of no one. We thought to live together, but you have left me alone, you have forsaken me. My right eye sheds tears, my right nostril smarts with sorrow. I bewailed but could not find you. I called out for you and could not find you. There is one God for me."

This translation is based partly on the literal meanings of the *kwarzam*, partly on explanations and renderings given to Samuel by Teitnir. The dead wife was a Piedr woman and the husband a Kuudr man. The mention of injustice refers

[1] In some cases Samuel could not give the literal meanings, and has only given the general sense of the *kwarzam*.

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to trouble which arose when other men wished to take his wife from Teitnir. The visits to bungalows, &c., probably refers to a time when Teitnir and his wife lived in Ootacamund under the protection of the Zenana Mission. The ships must be purely imaginary on Teitnir's part, unless he is referring to boats on the lake at Ootacamund. The numbers six and seven are those generally used for 'many' under ordinary conditions, and there is a clause towards the end which probably refers to the evil eye. Teitnir was under, or pretended to be under, missionary influence, and his reference to "one God" at the end is certainly due to this.

The following is the lament composed by Teitnir for Pidrvan :—

Epukerz	*ia!*	*alipukerz*	*ia!*	*Pudtk*	*tudtkk*
Kwarzam of mailr	oh!	*kwarzam of mailr*	oh!	rattan	ring
ir	*ia!*	*Pikk*	*kudtkk*	*kinim*	*ia!*	*peivalei*	*wuk*	*ia!*
buffalo	oh!	?	?	plate	oh!	?	?	oh!
keiveli	*mokr*	*ia!*	*kapatth*	*kal*	*ia!*	*kkdukatitk*	*kkdr*	*ia!*
necklace	neck	oh!	trousers	leg	oh!	car	horn	oh!
dua	*mutu*	*ia!*	*arzkam*	*wudr*	*ia!*	*atawdv*	*ia!*
elephant	foot	oh!	European	walk	oh!	sambhar	oh!
wurz	*frk*	*kan*	*tkitkauk,*	*kalockitum*	*ad*
beautiful	buffalo to	eye	I kept,	old woman to (?)	that
tkfuk,	*kalkfum*	*ad*	*tkfuk*	*kwarzam* of Kars clan,	*kwarzam*
they said,	old man to (?)	that	they said,		
im	*kkru*	*ii*	*vdr*	*kada,*	*pkrwaikkru!*
O	chief	seven	village	chief,	conqueror oh!
pukrwanid[1]	*ia!*	*kwatkkru!*	*Kawanadi*	*pali*	*put*
peace-loving man	oh!	strong man oh!	Kavanadi	dairy	carried
ala!	*ik*	*wut*	*tkk*	*ia!*	*atkk*	*ad*
oh!	yes	carried	posts	oh!	not born before	one
atkkk,	*purwtk*	*ad*	*purkkk,*	*pka*	*kkru*
you were born,	renowned	one	you were born,	?	council
pawatkk	*wuur*	*kkkkk,*	*kr*	*ad*	*kk*
you held,	money fine	you imposed,	buffalo fine	one	man to
akwatkk	*mukk*	*ad*	*kk*	*kiwtkk,*	*wuik*
you told,	girl	one	to man	you made,	barren buffaloes
kudi	*pukkk,*	*pkur*	*mkkk*	*pukkk*
in the night	you went,	buffalo	to the neck	you went,

[1] A play on Pidrvan's name.

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533 *pudr* *kdicki* *pothkt*, *pun* *arvodkti*,
539 chosen number beat you went, chosen number you ran before,
765 *kal* *ir* *kdthkti* *pulavil pilokti* *ninth* *ud* *kubi*
leg dance you danced ? ? your one new things
kisethkti, *ninth* *ud* *kut* *kisethkti*, *id* *kan*
you made, your one invention you made, to-day eye
mun *dvini*, *Kars* *kuun* *pothka?* *parmers*
face I saw, Kars Aruun has it come? *kwarsam* of *kuun*
pothka? *mathkddis* *mui* *kuiviui* *dsSrutrs* *kurgh*
has it come? burning-place at ashes heaped, *asaruis* at grass
putsvini.[1]
grew up.

The first part of this lament begins with the *kwarsam* of the *maiir*, or barren buffalo, slaughtered at the funeral. It is not quite clear which of the clauses at the beginning refer to the buffalo and which to the man. I do not know the meaning of the second clause. The free rendering of the third and fourth was said to be, "Your horns crept so well; your horns crept well to the front." The general sense of the other clauses was said to be as follows: "O, your leg like trousers, your horns like a car, your foot is like that of an elephant, you walk with a step like a European soldier, your appearance is like that of a sambhar. I saw you were the most beautiful buffalo of all." It seems probable that the lament so far refers altogether to the buffalo. Then follows, "They said that you would be the parent of the dead, but now you are dead yourself"; or, "When old people are yet alive, why are young ones taken?" Then follows the *kwarsam* of the Kars clan, and the rest obviously refers to Pidrvan himself: "O chief of many villages, conqueror, peace-loving and yet strong man. You were like Kavanadi, who carried the posts of the buffalo-pen.[2] O man of wonderful birth, renowned you were born; you held councils; you fined some by money and some by buffaloes; you settled who should marry the women. In

[1] As both these funeral laments were obtained from Samuel, I cannot guarantee that the method of spelling adopted in the same or that used elsewhere in the book; this is especially the case with the sign 'dh,' which, in agreement with the practice customary in South India, was used by Samuel for the English 'th,' and sometimes for a sound for which I have used the letter d.

[2] For the story to which this refers, see Chapter XXVIII.

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the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In your *asarum* place I see nothing but grass growing."

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Purification Ceremonies

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of the first new moon after the *marvainolkədr*.

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At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner.

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This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

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234 second funeral, and it is at Ôdr that the purification takes
765 place.

Similarly the Kars *mand* is returned from Taradrkirsi to
783 Kars on this day. I was told that the *pepkaricha* ceremony
793 of making new *pep* is performed after the funeral of a man
778 among the Tartharol, and it seems as if this new appointment of a dairyman and this use and purification of new dairy vessels are regarded as a form of the *pepkaricha* ceremony.

Another ceremony which takes place after the *marvainolkedr* is designed to purify the places used during the funeral rites and especially the *asaram*. This ceremony is called *kertnòdrkarchpimi*, "funeral place we purify," or *mutnolnòdr-vusthpimi*, "new moon day place (or ceremony) we keep." On the day of the new moon following the second funeral two men of the same clan as the deceased take a buffalo in the early morning from the pen to a spot about half a mile from the village. They wait there till about eleven o'clock, and then kill the buffalo by striking it on the head with a stone. They draw blood from one side of the animal and mix the blood with earth in a basket. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol add *tudr* bark to the earth and blood. The mixture is then taken to the funeral places and scattered over the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed, where the dead body or the *narzkedr* had lain at the two funerals, at the *methkudi* and the *asaram*. If the places for the *etvainol-* and *marvainol-kedr* are different and far distant from one another, the spots used at the former may be omitted, but the most important place which must always be purified in this way is the *asaram*. In any case this place is the last to be purified, and the men then throw away the basket and go straight back to their village, where they bathe and take food, having fasted till this time.

This ceremony is only performed after the funerals of males. The buffalo killed is called the *nàdrvusthpir*. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the purpose; the Tartharol, other than the Melgarsol, use an adult female buffalo.

No use is made of the flesh of the animal; the body is left where it falls and is not given to the Kotas.

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After a funeral, the members of the Tarthar clans, except the Melgarsol, shave their heads, but this is not done either by the Melgarsol or Teivaliol. I did not inquire fully into this matter, and do not know what regulations there are in connexion with the practice, or whether it is regarded as purificatory.

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The Funerals of Children

The body of a still-born child is buried at the same time as, and together with, the afterbirth, without any ceremonial. In one case which occurred during my visit, this was done by the woman who assisted at the delivery. The body was buried in the early morning on the day on which the mother underwent the ceremonies attending removal to the seclusion-hut.

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If a child less than two years of age dies, both funerals are held on one day. The *atvainolkedr* takes place in the morning, the *marvainolkedr* in the afternoon; a buffalo is killed at each, and the *asaramkedr* is held on the following morning as usual. If the child is very young, less than a month old, a male buffalo only may be killed, but if the father chooses, two buffaloes may be killed as at the funeral of an adult.

Thus, the child of Piliag and Sintagars (52) died while the mother was in the seclusion-hut, and two ordinary buffaloes were killed. On this occasion, the two funerals were held on the same day as that on which the child died, owing to the death having taken place on one of the appointed days for a funeral of the clan. When the youngest child of Podners (47) died, only one male buffalo was killed for both ceremonies.

When a male child dies who has not cut his teeth nor been through the ear-piercing ceremony, the funeral is not held at the usual funeral place for males, but at another. Thus the Karsol do not take the body of such a child to Taradrkirsi but to a place called Punpali.

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When I attended the funeral of a girl named Sinerani (52), the daughter of Kuriolv of Kuudr, both ceremonies were performed on the same day, and a number of incidents occurred which were very interesting as illustrations of many of the practices which have been described throughout this chapter. The child was about two years

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a survival of a time when the body was buried at the entrance of a pen. 764 174

The custom of burning the hut at a woman's funeral is probably a survival of the common custom of burning the house of a dead person, but it is possible that in the case of the Todas this may have been associated with the belief that the hut would be useful in the next world. The funeral hut of a man is not burnt, and this is almost certainly because it is, or represents, a dairy. The motive for the burning of the house of a dead person is probably to remove a place which the ghost may haunt, and the sanctity of the dairy was probably such as to render this precaution unnecessary after the death of a man.

The Toda custom of cremating their dead is accompanied by a belief that the dead go to a distant spirit-world. It seems quite certain that the Todas believe that the dead do not set out on their journey to the next world till after the second funeral ceremonies, but I am not at all clear what is supposed to become of the spirits of the dead in the interval between the two ceremonies. The spirit of a Melgars man during the interval is said to be a *kasun* or malignant spirit, but I was unable to obtain a full account of the Toda belief about the *kasun*, nor was I able to find out whether there is any belief in the malignity of the spirits of the dead of other clans.[1] That such spirits are impure is, I think, shown conclusively by the impurity of the relics of the dead and of all those who have been in contact with them. The intense objection to the sacred *ti* buffaloes or their guardians coming into relation, however indirectly, with the relics is evidence of the belief in the impurity, if not in the malignity, of the spirits of the dead between the two funeral ceremonies. 764 775 765 783

There is one rite which seems to point to the influence of the spirits of the dead on the living, and this is the obscure ceremony of *tarsamtpini*, which is performed on the day after the *marvainolkedr* of a Tarthar man (see p. 333). The ceremony consists in cutting a lock of hair from a young child. One obvious explanation would be 765 775

[1] In Teikir's lament for Pidrvan (see p. 387) he speaks of a Kars *kasun*, which suggests that each clan has its own *kasun*.

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765 775 furnished if we supposed that the spirits of the dead are malignant and that the ceremony was postponed till after the spirit had set out on his journey to Amnòdr, but there are two objections to this explanation. If the Todas had had this in their minds, they would have said that the ceremony might not be performed while there was *kedr* among the Tartharol, *i.e.*, while the funeral ceremonies of a Tarthar man were still incomplete. For the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, however, it seems that a child has to wait till after a *marvainolkedr* even if there has been no recent death among the Tartharol. Further, if the proposed explanation had been correct, there is no reason why the *karvnol*, or day immediately after the funeral, should have been appointed for the ceremony. The fact that this day is prescribed points rather to some beneficial influence which it is hoped may emanate from the dead.

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601 father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this restriction only applies to near relatives.

551 A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav*.

784 There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr odthavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

● [765] In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

Kinship Salutations

601 There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

602 The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithti*,

576 in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *mun*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

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between the two versions. I think it probable that it has become less frequent for several brothers to have only one wife in common, but I am very doubtful whether this indicates any real decrease in the prevalence of polyandry.

It seems to me that the correct way of describing the present condition of Toda society is to say that polyandry is as prevalent as ever, but that, owing to the greater number of women, it is becoming associated with polygyny. When there are two brothers it does not seem that each takes a wife for himself, but rather that they take two wives in common.

It is probable that this will lead in time to a state of society in which each brother will come to regard one wife as his own; and in a few cases it seemed to me that there was already a tendency in this direction. If this forecast should be fulfilled, the custom of monogamy among the Todas will have been developed out of polyandry through a stage of combined polyandry and polygyny.

One case happened during my visit which seemed to indicate that though several brothers might be regarded as husbands of a woman, the part of husband for ceremonial purposes might be taken only by one or two of them. In this case I was told that four brothers had one wife, but when the wife died only two of the brothers acted as widowers and performed the ceremonies associated with that condition. When I asked for an explanation of this, I was then told that the other two brothers were not husbands, but I strongly suspected that this was a mere device to enable two of the brothers to avoid the disabilities attendant on the condition of widowerhood. I have very little doubt that while the woman was alive, all the four brothers were her husbands, but after her death it became convenient to assume that only two had been husbands, leaving the others free from the restrictions of widowerhood.

Many writers have believed that the widely spread custom of the Levirate is a relic of polyandry. If it were true that the custom of polyandry is dying out among the Todas, this people might have provided material for the study of the relations of polyandry and the Levirate. It will be obvious,

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CLOTHING

The clothing of the men consists of a large cloak called the *putkuli*, a loincloth called *tadrp*, and a small perineal cloth called *kuvn*, kept in its place by a string round the waist called *pennar*. 291

The *putkuli* is made of a large piece of double cloth, which is usually worn by placing one side over the left shoulder and then throwing the whole garment round the back and over the right shoulder and across to the left shoulder, so that it completely envelops the body. This method of wearing the cloak, which is shown by the third man of Fig. 61, is called *kai ulk üt nidvai*, "hand into laid who stands," or "who stands with hand placed within the cloak."

The double layer of cloth of which the cloak is made is sewn together at the edges except at the upper part of one side, leaving the opening of a large pocket which is bounded by lines where the two layers of the cloak are again sewn together. This pocket is called *kudsh* and is very capacious, so that a Toda may produce a surprising number of articles from it. As we have seen, many of the articles given to the dead are placed in this pocket.

There are two methods of wearing the cloak adopted on special occasions. One of these is that called *kevenarut* (adopted by the second man in Fig. 61), with which we have already often met. The right arm is put out of the cloak, so that the arm and shoulder are bare whenever a Toda approaches certain sacred personages or objects. The cloak is worn *kevenarut* whenever the wearer is engaged in prayer or employed in any way at the dairy. It is also worn in this way when approaching a *palol*, when performing the *kaimukhti* salutation, and when crossing either of the sacred streams.

The other method is that shown by the fourth man in Fig. 61 and is called *mad ār mitch nidvai*, "head on covered who stands." The cloak is wōrn in this fashion by a widower between the middle of the first funeral ceremony and the final scene of the *azaramkedr*. It is also worn in 291 765

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[765] this way by those who throw earth in the *puzhutpimi* ceremony of each funeral.

The *tadrp* is a loincloth worn in the ordinary way, as shown by the first man in Fig. 61. The *tadrp* of a young child has a pocket called *terigs*, but I do not know whether this pocket also exists in the *tadrp* of an adult.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are manufactured by Hindus, probably in the Coimbatore district. Thirty years ago, according to Breeks, the cloth was procured from weavers who came from Serumuge in Coimbatore, but at the present time the garments are bought by the Todas at the bazaar. When obtained by the Todas they have certain red and blue lines, and sometimes the Todas supplement this decoration by embroidery called *pukuru*, which is the work of the women, and a cloak so decorated is called *pukuruputkuli*. The decoration is shown in Figs. 1 and 9. Some women are especially expert at this work, and one woman who has recently had to change her name is now called Pukuruveli on account of her special skill.

The chief point of interest in connexion with the *kuvn* is the string by which it is supported. This string is called *pennar*, or "butter string," and forms a special contribution made by relatives, and especially the sister's son, at a funeral. Further, the string is of especial significance in the dairy ceremonial, where it is sometimes called *kerk*.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are also worn by women. The garments are of the same kind as those of the men and are worn in the same ways.

The higher grades of dairymen wear garments called *tuni*, made of a different material, a grey cloth, which has been said to be manufactured by the Badagas of Jakaneri, but is probably only procured by their help. A cloak of similar material called *ān* is, or should be, used to enwrap the bodies of the dead; and, as we have already seen, there is some reason to believe that garments of this material may have been the original clothing of the Todas, for in the legend of Kwoten, the wife of this hero wore a cloak of this kind.

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of

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287 The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
793 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
292 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordination of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvn* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
292 the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
554 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kòdrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

Methods of Wearing the Hair

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 15.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

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302 rolls," and the second man in Fig. 61 is wearing his hair in
765 this fashion, a girl of his clan having died not long before, whose second funeral ceremonies had not yet taken place.

302 Another method of wearing the hair is shown by the third man in Fig. 61. This method is called *mad nadrk vai*,
782 "head (or hair) long to who." It is adopted by anyone who

FIG. 62.—TILIPA (12) WEARING HIS HAIR LONG ON ACCOUNT OF A VOW MADE AT A HINDU TEMPLE.

has made a vow. In Fig. 62 another man is shown in the same condition, but his head has a different appearance owing to the fact that he has tied two locks behind in order to keep the long hair away from his face. This tying back has no other significance.

302 Women wear their hair as shown in Figs. 3 and 11, in long ringlets, and there do not appear to be any differences in

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302 the method of wearing the hair under different conditions corresponding to those of males.

[765] After a funeral the Tarthar division of the Todas except the Melgarsol shave their heads, and this may also happen in connexion with vows made at the Hindu temple at Nanjánkudi or elsewhere.

[852] The hair of a child is shaved about the third month of life (see p. 332), so that the head has the appearance shown in Figs. 63 and 64. The head is shaved on the top and sides, and in a strip from the top to the forehead, so that three locks are left, two in front, called the *mîkuti* (*? meikuti*), and one behind, called the *kut*.

In the case of a girl, there is some difference in the method of shaving according to the position of the child in the family. If a girl is the eldest of the family, she wears three locks like a boy, but younger girls and the eldest girl, if she should have an elder brother, wear only the two front locks, the *mîkuti*.

SKIN-MARKS

304 751 755 The only kind of skin-mark made on males takes the form of a cicatrix on the right shoulder and, less commonly, on the elbow. It is produced by means of a stick made hot by the drill method of producing fire, exactly as in the production of fire for ceremonial purposes. The operation is not, however, accompanied by any ceremonial and may be performed by anyone. The marks are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes. The object of the marking is to cure the pain arising from the fatigue of milking. If the operation has not the desired result and the boy still feels the fatiguing effect of milking, a second mark is made, and occasionally a third or fourth may be necessary. In one case, in which a man had three marks one on the shoulder and two on the elbow, the third mark was not made till he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, three or four years after the first mark had been produced. This was done because, even after this lapse of time, he still suffered 304 from aching in his arm after milking the buffaloes. Another

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Tarthar people may usè the milk. If Tarthar buffaloes, however, go to a Teivali village, the Teivaliol may neither milk them nor use their milk or its products. Thus buffaloes which are normally milked by a Teivali dairyman when at their own village may not be milked by Teivaliol at a Teivali village, while there is no restriction on the milking of Teivali buffaloes by the Tartharol. 184 234 616

Although the Tartharol are in the habit of speaking of the Teivali dairymen as their servants, they have no means of enforcing service. The post of dairyman of any kind is one of profit, and, as we have seen, when the post, even of *palol*, ceases to bring a sufficient income, the Tartharol fail to obtain people to occupy it.

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided. The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work. In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another.

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two divisions appear to act on equal terms. Thus, in the earth-throwing ceremony, the earth is dug by a Teivali man at a Tarthar funeral, and the Tarthar men before they throw ask the Teivaliol whether they may do so. At a Teivali funeral these positions are reversed. Similarly, the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol for Teivaliol and *vice versa*. 616 764

On the other hand, there are some ceremonies in which the Teivaliol have definite duties to perform at a Tarthar funeral, which are not reciprocated. In the earth-throwing ceremony of the Tartharol, earth is first thrown by the Teivali *wursol*, but he does this as dairyman and not as one of the Teivaliol. The *kodtiti* ceremony of the second funeral is, however, only performed at a Tarthar funeral, and in it a Teivali man plays an important part, wearing the cloak which has been covering the relics and adorning himself with women's ornaments. He hangs on the neck of the calf the bell called *tukulir mani* and touches the relics with the bow and arrow after asking the Tartharol if he may do so. It is said 616 765 184

616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
765 to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr,
184 and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies
616 of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not
764 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to
778 be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs
783 clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two
796 divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the ceremony called *putkuli tkzÀr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other.

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamptpimi*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali.

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division.

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XX.

THE GREEN FUNERAL.

The two Funerals described—Last office to a dying Toda—The corpse journeys to the Kêdu Mand—The Kêdu Mand described—Obsequies—'Dust to dust'—Slaughter of Cattle—The ashes of the dead—Kotas remove the Carcasses of Cattle.

CHAP. XX.

764

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THE ceremonies observed on the death of a Toda may be divided into two groups; the first of which, appertaining to the funeral proper, and termed the green funeral or hase[1] kêdu,[2] is performed within a day or two after death. The second, styled the dry funeral or bara[3] kêdu, which will be described in full in the next Chapter, and is more of a commemorative nature, was formerly celebrated in the course of two or three months after the first. It was, as I understand, delayed mainly by local circumstances affecting the general interests of the community. Of late years, however, certain restrictions which the Government of Madras placed on the slaughter of cattle at the ceremonies, have caused the people to postpone these final obsequies until the death of several Todas should enable them, by combining sundry funerals, to make one great show. Hence the bara kêdu is often not effected until the lapse of a twelvemonth after death.

[1] Hase or pach or pache. Root in Drâvidian is paç = *tender, soft, raw, green.* Perhaps allied to Sansk. vaçanta = *spring.* Gaelic fas = *spring.* [POPE.]

[2] Kêdu. Tamil. Kanarese = *destruction, death.*
Telugu. Chedu = *perish.*
Compare Sanskrit kshi (ṇu) = *perish.* [POPE.]

[3] Bara. Tamil var. Kanarese and Telugu bar = *dry, parched, sterile, famine.* Compare Eng. bare. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

and kiss its face: then sitting in groups of pairs—both sexes indiscriminately—with the tops of their foreheads joined, give way to wailing and lamentation. A most singular and interesting spectacle, rendered more piquant and real, by the aspect of a small boy who, not finding his pair, was running about from one crying group to another, blubbering till his face was distorted and swollen, looking amongst the mantles for a spare head to rest his own against.

Thus they remain till the body has been consumed: when the lock of hair that had been cut off, together with portions of the half-burnt skull—nirrzh[9]—are collected in a piece of cloth, to be deposited in a corner of his house,[10] henceforth kept shut up, till the bara kĕdu.

The silver and gold of the burnt jewellery are sought for from the ashes, but little valueless odds and ends—as knives, iron rings and other ornaments, the rings off the ends of wooden pestles—together with the ashes of the dead, are buried in the ground. The hole which contains these remains is then filled up with earth, on which water is poured. Over all a stone. The earthen vessel which held the water is broken.

Having saluted the spot where the ashes have been buried, by touching it with their foreheads, they leave the place, avoiding it henceforward, but merely on account of the painful associations connected with it. A person once dead is never *named*, though he may be made the subject of conversation.

It is a mistake to suppose these people have a feast—a jollification—after this funeral. Indeed they are as little disposed for anything of the sort as we should be in the same position. But a number of friends from a distance have to be fed, and as all are not real *mourners*, and have many of them brought excellent appetites, they eat.

[9] Nirrh. Nirru.—*sacred ashes, ashes.* This is at the root of it. [Pope.]

[10] Some such custom would be the origin of the Manes and Penates.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

opp. p. 177

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N°22

MOURNING.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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764 The funeral ceremonies of women and children are, I was informed, the same as for men; fewer cattle are killed, and perhaps not so large an assembly of folk are present, but in other respects they are identical.

The carcases of the slaughtered cattle are left lying on the [177] ground. So soon as the place is clear, they will be carried off by the Kotas, who have already assembled for the sake of this meat.

765 Toda men sometimes shave their heads and beards as a sign 302 of mourning, though not often. Not so those of the Peiki clan, because 'they perform sacred offices.' Women never cut their hair off.

764 The cremation of the body is performed with the wood of 824 certain (seven) varieties of trees, whose names I do not know. On showing samples of them, which had been collected for me by a young man, to a pâlôl, he swept them aside with his hand, implying that, compared with the tôde, which he treated with great respect, they were as nothing.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DRY FUNERAL.

The burning of a Flute, Bow, and Arrows—The Dance—Scene with the Sacrificial Cattle—Again 'dust to dust'—Catching the Cattle—The Sacrifice—The Cattle-bell—No Priest concerned in the Ceremonies—Sprinkling of blood—Final burning of the Manes—The Kotas remove the dead Cattle.

If the first obsequies may be held to express feeling and mournful sentiments for the deceased as true and sound as any we exhibit in like circumstances; the ceremonies of the bara kĕdu or dry funeral may with equal justice be looked on as partaking both of a propitiatory provisional nature and of a commemorative festival character—as if performed with the object of speeding the general welfare of the friend gone to the unknown country: but in a style of show and hospitality somewhat commensurate with his worldly importance.

Hence we find the Todas congregate in considerable numbers at the kĕdu Mand, and display their ornaments on these occasions: feeding also a large assembly of their own and neighbouring tribes, conspicuous amongst which, the Kotas, who attend with much discordant piping or flageolet music (they are the musicians—save the mark!—of these hills). A very well-behaved multitude, but whose presence may be noted as readily by the nose as by other organs.[1]

In the very early morning of the first of a two days'

[1] One now quite understands the value of the Toda expression, 'I see with my nose.'

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765 768 177

In the very early morning of the first of a two days' ceremonial, and long before these guests have begun to arrive, the family of the deceased have a little private ordinance of their own; in burning all his personal property, such as his stick or staff, the honnu or milk vessel, and clothes: also a *flute* or flageolet, and a model of *a bow with bamboo 'strings,' and arrows.*[1] I could not ascertain any reason whatever for this musical instrument and these spurious weapons being burnt. Be it particularly borne in mind that the Todas have no sense of music and do not possess a flute in the whole tribe: that they never hunt, and have no weapons of the chase. These toys are made by the Kotas entirely for the occasion. Thus it was, I experienced some difficulty in buying the bow, which will be found in photograph No. 15. The first question asked of the man who purchased it for me from the Kota, was 'Who is dead?'

765 535 801

The opening public ceremony of the day, is a kind of dance performed by from twenty to fifty men. The dance I witnessed was monotonous enough. It consisted of the body of men, keeping step whilst striding round and round like the spokes of a wheel; each spoke having three men arm in arm: and all exclaiming, rather than shouting, 'A! U! A! U!'[2] in time with their steps. I could trace nothing symbolic in the exhibition except that strange number three, which I notice in all religious matters, to be constantly appearing. It may be that the dance and shout are both merely a Toda mode of giving vent and expression to a festive state of mind.

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Whilst this dance is being carried on by the men, the women prepare food in the hut described in the last Chapter, which has been repaired or renewed for this occasion. Here all the guests assemble, the two sexes sitting apart. The women of the family serve out the supplies from the diminutive door to

[1] Captain Forsyth, in his 'Highlands of Central India,' writes of the Dygas, 'their bows are made entirely of the bamboo, "string" and all.'

[2] The Toda word for *I shout*, is 'A! U! kiharthkm,' or *I call out* A! U! Cie, the bara kâdu, or Second funeral.—Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the men, who hand them round to all impartially. The repast over, dancing is resumed by some, whilst the younger or more active proceed to collect the cow-buffaloes that will be wanted for the morrow, and to shut them up in the pound. Meanwhile, as might be anticipated, the daughters of Eve air their finery and keep their bright eyes and teeth in practice.

The proceedings of the second day are very striking. Scene;—The circular pen, of about thirty feet diameter, with surrounding wall, of unusual strength and neatness, about five feet high and three and a half or four feet broad, on which a dense crowd of people—Todas, Kotas, Badagas, and others—are seated, each man with staff and toga. Sun hot. Smell strong. Buzz of many voices. Squeak of many instruments. A group of buffaloes within the pound, of which, one for each dead man, wears a bell—getti, not konku—scared and desperate from the excitement of the festivity, and the alarming presence of the noisy multitude on the wall, hedging them in on every side. They make frequent timorous dashes at the wall: are as often repulsed with shouts and stick gesticulations. They crowd again, tails together, horns outwards—a habit of defence they have acquired on their hill sides to keep off wild animals: then charge the wall again, and are again repulsed. These little feints and attitudes of defence, keep up the animation of the ring till the moment has come; when the remains of the dead, the insignificant manes—the bit of skull and lock of hair, some handfuls of ashes, a knuckle-bone or two—which have been preserved in a corner of the dwelling since the day of cremation, and now enclosed in the neat plaits of a new mantle, are laid at the gateway of the cattle pen: the ashes of the several dead whose obsequies are this day being observed, lying in the different folds of one single toga. The relatives collect around. No priest—pâlâl or kâvilâl—is present. A little hole is dug in the turf at the very opening of the pound; to which, as before described, each interested kinsman and woman, each adult and child, approaching

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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in succession, takes from it three handfuls of earth, and throws toward the group of buffaloes, who now facing the barred opening with heads down and eyes distended, stand, in the sudden and unwonted silence of this rite, apprehensive of the worst. Three more handfuls are thrown on to the mantle.

A small body of young and active men now clamber over the wall, dropping nimbly into the fold full of these scared animals. With much dexterity they seize them, singling out one at a time; two men approaching from behind either side of the head, grapple the creature's horns, and interlace their arms over its neck, so as to bring their whole weight and strength to bear, until they have the animal under control: in which work they are assisted by a third man who keeps a purchase on the extended tail, whilst others, with what appeared to me insufficient motive, belaboured its back with their sticks.

I am induced to the belief that the motive was insufficient, because these cattle would no doubt have permitted themselves to be caught far more readily without any beating. Hence I conclude that the object in maltreating the animal which is habitually used with consideration, and that knows and obeys their voice so well, must have some hidden meaning. But what that meaning may be I cannot suggest, for the people are singularly free from superstition.

It has been stated that, in former times, when less subject to the police, the animals were on these occasions, clubbed, 'not to death, but to inability to move, by a broken spine; and then left to die in agony.'[4] But, in my opinion, this account needs confirmation. Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a buffalo killed by the club which is depicted on photograph No. 15, and which they often carry at these festivals; but the deed was accidental. The fact still remains that on the occasion of funerals the Todas treat their cattle with unusual violence.

[4] Letter from the Collector of Coimbatore to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue Department, dated 1856.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

When all the animals have thus been seized, and stand grouped in the pen, in separate knots, each consisting of a snorting buffalo, hard held, head and tail, by a few perspiring and breathless men, the bars of the gateway are withdrawn. One struggle more on the part of the cattle, as they pass through the gateway, to get free. Then the plunging, scuffling masses are brought down to the âthârê, where, one by one, as narrated in the last chapter, these milch cows are killed. As each is felled, and comes down on its knees, the mantle containing the ashes of the dead is laid on the ground, so that the nose of the prostrate creature may rest on the cloth, giving out its life in contact with her master's remains.

The mourners, at this time fondle the animal's face, as in the first funeral, giving way to tears with every appearance of deep and poignant grief. In their wailing, 'the expressions of sorrow,' writes Mr. Metz, 'to which they give utterance, are generally in the form of questions to (the spirit of?) the deceased; such as "Are you suffering from fever?" "Are your buffaloes thriving?" "Why did you leave us so soon?"[1] "Have you gone to amnôr?"'

Mr. Metz found that in the midst of this crying they would hold out their hands to him for a present; from which circumstance he concludes that the lamentations are uttered, not from grief, but simply pursuant to established custom. I conceive that formerly, when the obsequies took place very shortly after the green funeral, these cries were probably genuine, but that the postponement of the ceremonies of the dry funeral for the period of about a year, has no doubt injured the reality of the scene.

I have said that one buffalo for each person whose funeral is being celebrated, wears a bell—getti. This bell is not holy, but purchased in the bazaar. I could not find a reason for the practice, receiving the usual answers to my enquiry: 'It is shastr,' or 'It is our custom,' or 'Dêr or Swâmi made it so.'

[1] Often said, 'You have been but three days with us.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god —konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village droves, never wear a bell.)

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the *ex*-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.'

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as adherence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless.

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara-kêdu, before daybreak, the mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of

[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

[1] The bara kêdu, or second funeral --Analyst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

765 775 the other three clans—and blood having been taken from the artery of one of the fore legs, at the point of junction with the body, it is sprinkled on the piece of skull preserved from cremation. Nothing is said at the time, and the Todas have no name for the ceremony beyond describing it as, bâkh nirrzhk idu, or 'put the blood to the ashes.' The mantle and its contents are now completely burnt.[8]

In none of the ceremonies described, have I seen any active acknowledgment of the existence of a God.

The main object of the festivities appears to be to gratify a pious desire to further the material welfare of their friend in amnôr, and to bow him out of this world with ceremony and honour. The whole is a grave, practical affair, in which their natural fondness for a prolonged sensation, their domestic and also their wasteful dispositions are all thoroughly gratified. He has gone to amnôr. Send one or two cows at once, at time of death—with more, with plenty, to follow. They are as realistic in this matter as the ancient Britons, who used to give *post-obits* payable in the next world. When asked what became of infants who died, they said, 'Those who have gone before, take care of them.' Their little programme is cut and dry, and the people, harmless race, are quite comfortable in their belief.

If the hut erected for these obsequies was made for a woman, it is now burnt. If for a man, it is not touched.[9]

The Kotas remove the carcases.

[8] Mr. Metz very kindly gave me the information contained in this paragraph. I believe it likely that the personal property; flute, bow and arrows, are also burnt at this time, and not prior to the festivities. The circumstances narrated are correct, though perhaps their sequence is not so. It is not easy to obtain absolutely reliable information from these untutored people: and I did not witness either of the two ceremonies myself.

[9] Mr. Metz authorises this statement.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tāli*?"* The father consents. The husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kāndal it is *Pirzhvākham*.
„ Muttināḍ „ *Pirzhirzhk*.
„ Kodanāḍ „ *Kurrkduvirzh*.
„ Manjakal „ *Bellgāriff*.

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nāga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Māmūl* and *Shāstra*. One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow we have got a wife who is with child.*"†

The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordesi Kēdu*), which takes place soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvendli Kēdu*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

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* The *Tāli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tali.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Moegling, p. 40 :—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognised practice in India from ancient times is evident from Manu, iii. 33.

[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock; *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 8 :—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not valued but enslaved to her husband."

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

764 tied round the first buffalo's neck, and the corpse was lifted and made to touch three times the side of the animal, which was killed by one blow from the back of an axe, and its body dragged up, so that its head lay close to that of the dead man, the hand of the latter being made to clasp the buffalo's horn (*Plate* XIV.) The bell was then 765 transferred to the other buffalo, and the same process repeated. All the relatives seated themselves by the three bodies to mourn in couples, a man and woman putting their heads together and sobbing and moaning. After a little while each couple would separate, the woman saluting the man by raising his foot to her forehead (except in the case of the old women, when the process was reversed), and fresh pairs would be formed. As with other Eastern people, their sorrow is woeful to behold, the tears literally streaming down their faces and over their cloths. Their grief, however, is marvellously transient.

After this the widow sat alone mourning at the head of the deceased, and put three handfuls of grain into the pocket of his cloth. Then the body was placed on the bier, and laid on the ground beside the pile, which was lighted by the relatives, who, again covering their heads, made fire with two sticks.*

764 One side of the bier was cut into three and laid on the pile. *Sāmē* grain (*Panicum miliare*) and jaggery, the two great Toda luxuries, were then put into the pocket of the dead man's *pútkuli*, with two cheroots, some tobacco wrapped in red cloth, and the purse, embroidered by one of the mourners, containing five or six rupees in silver and a little gold coin.† A ring was put on the finger, and earrings in the ears. A bit of the skull with hair and one of the finger nails‡ were cut off by the relatives; these, I was told, would be kept till the dry funeral in a little hut built near the mand for that purpose, and a buffalo bell hung over them for the relatives to ring night and morning. The bell is not hung over the remains of a woman. After this, ghee was thrown on the pile; the body was swung three times over the flame and laid on the pile *face downwards*, a sort of imitation bier or hurdle, which had previously been placed under the body, being laid above it.

When the fire has burnt out, any coin or metal that may have been actually given to the flames, is recovered; usually they merely pass such articles through the flame by way of an offering.

No care is taken of the ashes, they "are left to the winds," as a Toda told me.

765 The dry funeral takes place within a twelvemonth or so after death, according to the pleasure of the relatives. Each clan has its own *kódmanes*§ or funeral houses, [Toda] different ones for men and women. They are sometimes near a mund, sometimes not, but always have a kraal at hand. They are like the ordinary Toda huts, but are sometimes decorated at the time of the funeral with silver coins. These are mostly rupees,

372 * A dry stick of the *Calicodaphne Wightiana*, about as thick as a man's thumb, is laid on the ground and held firm by the feet, a second stick is held upright between the two hands, the point resting on the horizontal stick: by twirling the upright with great rapidity between the palms of the hands fire is produced at the point of contact.

† Called by Todas *Birda pándu*. I think it is the same as the *Birimboma* given to a dying Badaga. This is a *Vīr-roya* or Coorg-fanam.

‡ These appear to be specially sacred relics among the Buddhists also. Stupas covering a lock of hair, crown of skull, or finger-nail of Buddhist saints seem to have been common in the palmy days of Buddhism.

§ *Kód* is the name given to the skull, hair, and finger-nail saved from the green funeral, which are tied between two pieces of bark.

765 but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nīlagiri
[77] District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is
devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of
Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and
[535] sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the
arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other
[60] guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the
deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and
[77] otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws
off his *pútkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and
trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was
there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed
by Bĕti Khân, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a
lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas
as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of
buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the
kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance,
a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pútkulis*, rush into the kraal with them,
seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile
weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and
the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before
alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal,
and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's
[578] dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back.
This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peïkis and Todis, one of
the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and
was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been
lavished on him.

[535] The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the
morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now
[536] and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the
neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve
in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down
and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four
are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are
begun by placing the *kĕd*, wrapped in a new *pútkuli*, on the ground within the stone
wall surrounding the *kĕdmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting
"*Hah! hoh! ĕr kar ultamá*," ("May the buffaloes and calves be well,") or words of
that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kĕd*, covered by the
pútkuli, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kĕd* is then carried to the
entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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* *Monigar*—properly *manigakĕren*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchāyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

1/1 [of the second or "dry" funeral — Analyst]

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25 friends of the deceased in turn, covering their heads with their cloths, scratch up the earth with a stick (*Pett*), to which is tied a rag given by the *Pálál*, and throw three handfuls of earth into the kraal, and three on the *pútkuli*, as in the green funeral; each before throwing mutters "*Purzhutukamā*" ("May I throw earth") to a man of the Peiki class standing by the entrance, who replies "*Purzhut*" ("Throw earth.") At the funeral of a Peiki, one of the Tarserzhâl performs this office.

When each of the relatives has thrown his handfuls, the *pujāri* approaches with some garlands of creepers, which he throws at the buffaloes. At this signal, a crowd of young men leap into the kraal, the gate is opened, and, with a rush, men and buffaloes pour out in a cloud of dust, four or five men clinging to each animal's neck, while others urge it on with their clubs. The excitement and confusion are great, and the danger not small; as the buffaloes, blinded and terrified, tear wildly round the kraal and against its walls before they can be dragged out to the place of slaughter. This differs in different cases. At a Peiki funeral, where nine buffaloes were slaughtered, one was killed near a couple of posts about a hundred yards from the kraal, and the rest near the *kédmane*, their bodies being laid in two rows with the heads together. At a Todi funeral near Türnät Mand, commemorative of a single death, one of the two buffaloes slaughtered was killed near the *kédmane*, the other at the mand *Pálthchi*. Death is inflicted by one blow between the horns from the back of an axe. The *pútkuli* and *kéd* are then laid beside the carcases, and men and women sit down by them and mourn in couples, changing places from time to time as at the green funeral.

The next ceremony at a Todi funeral is most striking, and vividly recalls Mosaic sacrifices.

The Peiki *Varzhál* carries a small urn-shaped vessel of leaves, stitched together, and filled with pieces of bark of the *Melioama pungens*, to the mand herd, and sits a little way off, while the young men run in and seize a female buffalo and a calf. The latter is decorated with an iron bell, and held by two or three men, while the buffalo is dragged to a stone, to which the *pútkuli* and *kéd*, the deceased's stick, and a miniature bow and three arrows are brought. The *kéd* is untied, and the hair, &c. laid on a mimic stretcher (*Berrkeur*) about 1½ foot long, roughly made of green sticks. The buffalo is half stunned by a blow between the horns from a big stone, and a clansman of the deceased, with an axe, makes a gash under its right foreleg. Into this wound the *Varzhál* dips a few of the pieces of bark from the leaf vessel, and gives some of them to the kinsman, who smears the blood on the *kéd*, with some words which are differently reported by different Todas. The clearest sentence given is "*Karma odi ponā*," "May "the sin run away." Another man repeated an unintelligible sentence, which, however, contained the words *Karma*, sin, and *Amunād*, heaven, so that the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice underlies the ceremony.

(They make rather a secret of this part of the proceedings, fearing, not unreasonably, that it may be objected to on the score of humanity, and I had to promise not to report the matter, or induce Government interference, before they would let me see what was done.) A Peiki man then puts on the *pútkuli*, in which the *kéd* had been wrapped, and a silver necklace, and taking the bow and arrows, the latter laid across the bow, as though in readiness for shooting, dips the points of the arrows into the blood on the *kéd*, saying "*Birzhutukamā*," "Shall I give the bow." After this

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they walk to another stone near the Kêdmane in procession, shouting "Hoh Hoh," the Peiki with the bow in the middle, and the *Varzhâl* in front, carrying the leaf vessel, out of which he takes two pieces of bark at intervals, throwing one behind him and another before him. The calf is dragged to this stone and let loose, when they all run after it, throwing themselves down at intervals so as to touch the ground with their foreheads, and shouting

Amnuddga Sêrumâ
Karma dharma tilimâ.

which may be rendered, "May *he* enter heaven, may it be well with his good deeds "and his sins."

The Peikis and Pekkans do not sacrifice a buffalo, nor loose a calf at the dry funeral, but at the next new moon they slaughter a male buffalo, and bringing the blood in a leaf vessel to the *kêdmane*, sprinkle it on the kraal and the *Âzâram*.

The ceremonies are hardly concluded, before the Kotas descend upon the carcases of the buffaloes like so many vultures, and hack them to pieces, screaming and squabbling over the spoil, and carrying off the flesh in great lumps to their homes. It is curious that the Todas, to whose relatives the dead animals are consecrated, make no objection to this disgusting operation, though carried on at the very door of the *Kêdmane*. I asked a Toda once about it, and he replied, "*When the buffaloes are* "*alive they are ours; when dead they belong to the Kotas.*"

The *Kêd* is burnt about four o'clock on the following morning (they say the burning must be completed before dawn) at the *Âzâram*,* a single circle of large stones fixed in the ground not far from the Kêdmane. They first light a fire outside the *Âzâram*, and then spread the *pâtkuli* with the *kêd* in the middle of the circle, and pile burning sticks on it until, with the help of ghee, they make a great blaze. They put on the inside fire the following articles:—

A *Kâf Kutti*, a sort of large knife or sickle wrapped round with cloth.
An axe.
Twenty-one bamboo measures ornamented with cowries, two anna bits, and coloured threads, and containing barley, kîre, and sâme grain.
Four or five cakes of jaggery.
A winnowing basket.
A basket for holding rice.
Three or four Toda walking sticks.
A straight pole (*Tarzh*) 20 feet long, ornamented with tassels and rosettes of cowries, and sometimes with a small silver umbrella. (*Plate* XI., *fig. b.*)
A palm-leaf umbrella.
A miniature bow and three arrows.† (*Plate* XI., *fig. a.*)
A purse.

* I could not ascertain with any certainty whether these stone circles, which are always to be found near the funeral mand, had been constructed in recent years or were of considerable antiquity. Their appearance, however, did not suggest any great age. From the Todas whom I questioned on the subject, it was very difficult to elicit any definite information; but the impression which their answers conveyed, was, that now and then they construct new circles, when they consider that the old ones have been used long enough.

† I am told that these are burned at the green funeral when the Kotas have time to make them, but they must not be made beforehand, or the man for whom they were intended would die; and as the Kotas will only work, and the Todas only burn on certain days, it must frequently happen that the two do not coincide.

The pouch of the *pûthkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzāram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkvur*), some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kŭtĕr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pett*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical farewell to the dead:

* *Anunâdpa seruna,*
Karma dharma (pronounced *Karrm Dharrm*) *tilinâ.**

Courtesy requires that all who attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display of mitigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzāram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle† is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,‡ followed by another with a chatty,§ but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes, ‖ bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *kêdmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains have, I believe, a similar superstition.¶

At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *hôdsome* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

Thus the Toda funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,** ends in note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

* This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

† At a Todi funeral near Thrukí Mund the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzārams* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the corpse.

‡ Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

§ An earthen pot.

‖ Dubois, People of India, p. 390. At a Brahman funeral "the chief of the funeral taking on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

¶ Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Bhût, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhûts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

** Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

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764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
● 765 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that
174 of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Āsārams*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
179 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage
224 ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the
262 chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
776 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh,
782 and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bētikhān, who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

174 The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas?
441 a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris are still expert archers.

224 The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pūtkuli, tharp, kōnu, &c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

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* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tēr* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

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174 411 mittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then expert in the use of the bow, but when they found that they could obtain from the cultivators a share of their produce, such an idle race as the Todas would naturally abandon the toilsome and precarious occupation of hunting.

224 The disuse of the bow is thus, to a certain extent evidence of an improvement in the material condition of the Todas, though unaccompanied by any advance in civilisation: still, as they themselves admit that it would be convenient to supplement their food by samber* flesh, their present inability to procure it, shows how easily a semi-savage race may lay aside and forget† arts of obvious utility as soon as the pressure of absolute necessity is withdrawn.

174 It is noteworthy that this indication of a still wilder life than that of the modern Toda, should occur side by side with traces of so much higher a religious condition.

764 765 The disposal of the body is suggestive. Col. Dalton, in an account‡ of somewhat similar funeral rites among the Kols, observes that some of the accessories of their ceremonial suggest the idea that their dead were originally buried, not burnt. The Toda ceremonies convey this impression with still greater clearness. The *Berrkenr* probably represents an actual bier, and the sprinkling of earth on the body and in the circle, as before described, leads almost inevitably to the conclusion that the body was formerly buried, *and that the stone circle was the original burying place.*

714 The minor observances present coincidences interesting, but of little ethnological importance, such as the dread of looking back, as old as Orpheus and Eurydice; and the three handfuls of earth which recall our own funeral rites.

000 It would be desirable to obtain detailed accounts from eye-witnesses of the ceremonies of other Indian Hill tribes, and of the Low Castes of the plains. It seems to me that it is in such observances, rather than in the every-day life of these tribes, that the most valuable indications of their previous condition are to be found; because, while circumstances necessarily affect their ordinary life, customs of this kind may remain unchanged for centuries.

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* Samber, commonly known as the Indian Elk, a large kind of deer.

† Vide—Sir J. Lubbock *On the origin of civilisation and primitive condition of Man*, page 331:—
"The art of spinning and the use of the bow are quite unknown to many races of savages, and yet
"would hardly be likely to have been abandoned when once known"!
Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, page 451:—
"Many again, of the ruder arts, as for instance the manufacture of pottery, and of bows, are so useful,
"and at the same time, however ingenious in idea, so simple in execution, as to render it highly
"improbable that they would ever be lost, when they had once been acquired"!

‡ Col. Dalton's *Kols of Chota Nagpore. Transactions Ethnological Society, Vol. VI., New Series, page* 37. He says that among the *Hos* and *Mundahs* a corpse is burnt in a very stout coffin furnished with projections as if to facilitate transport. With the body are burnt all the clothes and ornaments of the deceased, and what money he had with him at his death. The larger fragments of bone are afterwards selected (the rest being buried at once) and hung up for some time in a place where they may be constantly viewed by the mother or widow. After some time a large monumental stone is brought to the family burying ground. The bones are carried in procession to the houses of relatives, who mourn over them, and to the favourite haunts of the deceased, preceded by men with drums, and girls carrying empty and half broken pitchers, which from time to time they reverse. Ultimately the procession circles round and round a large hole at the burying place, the bones are placed in a new earthen vessel, and deposited with a quantity of food in the grave, which is covered by the monumental stone.—Compare the reversed pitchers and interment in an earthen vessel with the account of coins at the end of this volume.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW 60 Toda AW 60

764 lucky and unlucky days. Each night and morning of the interval between the death and the funeral, a lament or coronach is sung over the body by the family and relatives of the deceased. In this they are often joined by passing friends, or by those who have come for the purpose of thus testifying their respect for the dead, and sympathy with the survivors—a trait in the character of this people exhibited in many other ways, and more remarkably than with even many civilised nations.

765 The day of a death is observed by the immediate relatives, as it was among the ancient Jews, as a solemn fast. Their necklaces and ear-rings are also taken off, and the hair is cut short, as a sign of grief and mourning. Both sexes are obliged to conform to this custom on the death of a near male relation, though when a female dies the men do not do so. The sacred class, or *Terralees*, are exempt in either case.

764 On an appointed day, the relatives from a distance having duly arrived in obedience to the summons, the body covered over with a mantle, but having the face exposed, is carried in procession on a sort of bier to the *Terraree*, or sacred ground belonging to the family, and, under the superintendence of the high priest attached thereto, assisted by his subordinate, is burned with certain solemnities and much wailing; the relatives, prior to the corpse being placed on the funeral pile, cutting off a few locks from the head.

766 The above are, however, only the preliminary honours paid to the dead, the principal rites being deferred to a subsequent period, which may be a few weeks, or as many months later.

With a view to the coming rites, portions of the deceased's ashes are saved from the pyre, and, together with the locks of hair, his ear-rings and other ornaments, are carefully folded in his own mantle, and laid by until the proper time arrives.

The concluding ceremonies are, perhaps, the most singular and interesting of all the Toda customs, and I was fortunate in having an unusually favourable opportunity of witnessing them. For, familiar as some of their practices have latterly become in the neighbourhood of our new Hill-stations, their funeral obsequies are only celebrated in the more remote parts of the mountains, and are consequently seldom seen by any European. 000 Indeed, I do not know that the presence of Captain J. and myself would have been tolerated on the occasion to which I

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a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr. Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the ground that they were too poor to afford the expense of the operation, or that they were always suckling or pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation would not be free from danger. The dots and circles, of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in the following cases:—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet ornamented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger; silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grandmother's death.

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII.

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595 851 842 [805] [824] when they return to the mand. The time is determined, in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a garden escape called by the Todas āru mani pūv (six o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may [765] be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a miniature bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram).

648 585 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nilgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 178 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the grass in front of the Pulikot bungalow.
† *Op. cit.*

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847 native veracity with reference to this point, and, in view
178 of the lack of encouragement which the practice receives from the Indian Government, this is not altogether surprising. The supposition of female infanticide, by accounting for the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, brings the Todas into harmony with what is known of the rest of mankind." In summarising his conclusions, Mr. Punnett notes that:—

[162] (1) Among the Todas, males predominate greatly over females.

(2) This preponderance is doubtless due to the practice of female infanticide, which is probably still to some extent prevalent.

(3) The numerical preponderance of the males has been steadily sinking during recent years, owing probably to the check which foreign intercourse has imposed upon female infanticide.

764 In connection with the death ceremonies of the Todas, Dr. Rivers notes that "soon after death the body is burnt, and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is etvainolkedr, the first day funeral. After an interval, which may vary greatly in length, a second
● [765] ceremony is performed, connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is marvainolkedr, the second day funeral, or
[574] 'again which day funeral.' The funeral ceremonies are open to all, and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institu-
764 tion of the Todas, however, they have become known to
192 Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas hase kedu, the fresh or green

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funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri hills, but has been widely adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral is called by the Badagas bara kedu, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted." The various forms of the funeral ceremonies are discussed in detail by Dr. Rivers, and it must suffice to describe those at which we have been present as eye-witnesses.

I had the opportunity of witnessing the second funeral of a woman who had died from smallpox two months previously. On arrival at a mand on the open downs about five miles from Ootacamund, we were conducted by a Toda guide to the margin of a dense shola, where we found two groups seated apart, consisting of (*a*) women, girls, and brown-haired female babies, round a camp fire; (*b*) men, boys, and male babies, carried, with marked signs of paternal affection, by their fathers. In a few minutes a murmuring sound commenced in the centre of the female group. Working themselves up to the necessary pitch, some of the women (near relatives of the deceased) commenced to cry freely, and the wailing and lachrymation gradually spread round the circle, until all, except little girls and babies who were too young to be affected, were weeping and mourning, some for fashion, others from genuine grief. In carrying out the orthodox form of mourning, the women first had a good cry to themselves, and then, as their emotions became more intense, went round the circle, selecting partners with whom to share companionship in grief. Gradually the group resolved itself into couplets of mourners, each pair with their heads in contact, and giving expression to their emotions in unison. Before

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765 separating to select a new partner, each couple saluted by bowing the head, and raising thereto the feet of the other, covered by the putkûli. [I have seen women rapidly recover from the outward manifestations of grief, and clamour for money.] From time to time the company of mourners was reinforced by late arrivals from distant mands, and, as each detachment, now of men and now of women, came in view across the open downs, one could not fail to be reminded of the gathering of the clans on some Highland moor. The resemblance was heightened by the distant sound as of pipers, produced by the Kota band (with two police constables in attendance), composed of four Kotas, who made a weird noise with drums and flutes as they drew near the scene of action. The band, on arrival, took up a position close to the mourning women. As each detachment arrived, the women, recognising their relatives, came forward and saluted them in the manner customary among Todas by falling at their feet, and placing first the right and then the left foot on their head. Shortly after the arrival of the band, signals were exchanged, by waving of putkûlis, between the assembled throng and a small detachment of men some distance off. A general move was made, and an *impromptu* procession formed, with men in front, band in the middle, and women bringing up the rear. A halt was made opposite a narrow gap leading into the shola; men and women sat apart as before; and the band walked round, discoursing unsweet music. A party of girls went off to bring fire from the spot just vacated for use in the coming ceremonial, but recourse was finally had to a box of matches lent by one of our party. At this stage we noticed a woman go up to the eldest son of the deceased, who was seated apart from the

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other men, and would not be comforted in spite of her efforts to console him. On receipt of a summons from within the shola, the assembled Toda men and ourselves swarmed into it by a narrow track leading to a small clear space round a big tree, from a hole cut at the base of which an elderly Toda produced a piece of the skull of the dead woman, wrapped round with long tresses of her hair. It now became the men's turn to exhibit active signs of grief, and all of one accord commenced to weep and mourn. Amid the scene of lamentation, the hair was slowly unwrapt from off the skull, and burned in an iron ladle, from which a smell as of incense arose. A bamboo pot of ghi was produced, with which the skull was reverently anointed, and placed in a cloth spread on the ground. To this relic of the deceased the throng of men, amid a scene of wild excitement, made obeisance by kneeling down before it, and touching it with their foreheads. The females were not permitted to witness this stage of the proceedings, with the exception of one or two near relatives of the departed one, who supported themselves sobbing against the tree. The ceremonial concluded, the fragment of skull, wrapt in the cloth, was carried into the open, where, as men and boys had previously done, women and girls made obeisance to it. A procession was then again formed, and marched on until a place was reached, where were two stone-walled kraals, large and small. Around the former the men, and within the latter the women, took up their position, the men engaging in chit-chat, and the women in mourning, which after a time ceased, and they too engaged in conversation. A party of men, carrying the skull, still in the cloth, set out for a neighbouring shola, where a kĕdu of several other dead Todas was being celebrated; and a long

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765 pause ensued, broken eventually by the arrival of the other funeral party, the men advancing in several lines, with arms linked, and crying out U, hah! U, hah, hah! in regular time. This party brought with it pieces of the skulls of a woman and two men, which were placed, wrapt in cloths, on the ground, saluted, and mourned over by the assembled multitude. At this [248] stage a small party of Kotas arrived, and took up their position on a neighbouring hill, waiting, vulture-like, for the carcase of the buffalo which was shortly to be slain. Several young men now went off across the 765 787 hill in search of buffaloes, and speedily re-appeared, driving five buffaloes before them with sticks. As soon as the beasts approached a swampy marsh at the foot of the hill on which the expectant crowd of men was gathered together, two young men of athletic build, throwing off their putkûlis, made a rush down the hill, and tried to seize one of the buffaloes by the horns, with the result that one of them was promptly thrown. The buffalo escaping, one of the remaining four was quickly caught by the horns, and, with arms interlocked, the men brought it down on its knees, amid a general scuffle. In spite of marked objection and strenuous resistance on the part of the animal—a barren cow—it was, by means of sticks freely applied, slowly dragged up the hill, preceded by the Kota band, and with a Toda youth pulling at its tail. Arrived at the open space between the kraals, the buffalo, by this time thoroughly exasperated, and with blood pouring from its nostrils, had a cloth put on its back, and was despatched by a blow on the poll with an axe deftly wielded by a young and muscular man. On this occasion no one was badly hurt by the sacrificial cow, though one man was seen washing his legs in the swamp after the preliminary struggle with

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the beast. But Colonel Ross-King narrates how he saw a man receive a dangerous wound in the neck from a thrust of the horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. With the death of the buffalo, the last scene, which terminated the strange rites, commenced; men, women, and children pressing forward and jostling one another in their eagerness to salute the dead beast by placing their hands between its horns, and weeping and mourning in pairs; the facial expression of grief being mimicked when tears refused to flow spontaneously. 765 782

The ceremonial connected with the final burning of the relics and burial of the ashes at the stone circle (*azaram*) are described in detail by Dr. Rivers.

A few days after the ceremony just described, I was invited to be present at the funeral of a young girl who had died of smallpox five days previously. I proceeded accordingly to the scene of the recent ceremony, and there, in company with a small gathering of Todas from the neighbouring *mands*, awaited the arrival of the funeral cortége, the approach of which was announced by the advancing strains of Kota music. Slowly the procession came over the brow of the hill; the corpse, covered by a cloth, on a rude ladder-like bier, borne on the shoulders of four men, followed by two Kota musicians; the mother carried hidden within a sack; relatives and men carrying bags of rice and jaggery, and bundles of wood of the kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*) for the funeral pyre. Arrived opposite a small hut, which had been specially built for the ceremonial, the corpse was removed from the bier, laid on the ground, face upwards, outside the hut, and saluted by men, women, and children, with the same manifestations of grief as on the previous occasion. Soon the men moved away to a short distance, and engaged 764 [824]

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(*Sophora glauca*), which were brought to the spot where the corpse was lying. The mother of the dead child then withdrew one of its hands from the putkûli, and the boy placed the grass and twig in the hand, and limes, plantains, rice, jaggery, honey-comb, and butter in the pocket of the putkûli, which was then stitched with needle and thread in a circular pattern. The boy's father then took off his son's putkûli, and replaced it so as to cover him from head to foot. Thus covered, the boy remained outside the hut till the morning of the morrow, watched through the night by near relatives of himself and his dead bride. [On the occasion of the funeral of an unmarried lad, a girl is in like manner selected, covered with her putkûli from head to foot, and a metal vessel filled with jaggery, rice, etc., to be subsequently burnt on the funeral pyre, placed for a short time within the folds of the putkûli. Thus covered, the girl remains till next morning, watched through the dreary hours of the night by relatives. The same ceremony is performed over the corpse of a married woman who has not borne children, the husband acting as such for the last time, in the vain hope that the woman may produce issue in heaven.] The corpse was borne away to the burning-ground within the shola, and, after removal of some of the hair by the mother of the newly wedded boy, burned, with face upwards, amid the music of the Kota band, the groans of the assembled crowd squatting on the ground, and the genuine grief of the nearest relatives. The burning concluded, a portion of the skull was removed from the ashes, and handed over to the recently made mother-in-law of the dead girl, and wrapped up with the hair in the bark of the tûd tree (*Meliosma pungens*). A second buffalo, which, properly speaking, should have been slain before

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764 the corpse was burnt, was then sacrificed, and rice and
[982] jaggery were distributed among the crowd, which dispersed, leaving behind the youthful widower and his custodians, who, after daybreak, partook of a meal of rice, and returned to their mands; the boy's mother
[765] taking with her the skull and hair to her mand, where it would remain until the celebration of the second funeral. No attention is paid to the ashes after cremation, and they are left to be scattered by the winds.

A further opportunity offered itself to be present at the funeral of an elderly woman on the open downs not far from Paikāra, in connection with which certain details possess some interest. The corpse was, at the time of our arrival, laid out on a rude bier within an improvised arbour covered with leaves and open at each end, and tended by some of the female relatives. At some little distance, a conclave of Toda men, who rose of one accord to greet us, was squatting in a circle, among whom were many venerable white-turbaned elders of
[393] the tribe, protected from the scorching sun by palm-leaf umbrellas. Amid much joking, and speech-making by the veterans, it was decided that, as the eldest son of the deceased woman was dead, leaving a widow, this daughter-in-law should be united to the second son, and that they should live together as man and wife.
[576] On the announcement of the decision, the bridegroom-elect saluted the principal Todas present by placing his head on their feet, which were sometimes concealed within the ample folds of the putkūli. At the funeral of a married woman, three ceremonies must, I was told, be performed, if possible, by a daughter or daughter-in-law, viz.:—

[824] (1) Tying a leafy branch of the tiviri shrub (*Atylosia Candolleana*) in the putkūli of the corpse;

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764 was an elderly relative of the dead woman, who, while watching the ceremonial, was placidly engaged in the manufacture of a holly walking-stick with the aid of a glass scraper. The proceedings were watched on behalf [648] of Government by a forest guard, and a police constable who, with marked affectation, held his handkerchief to his nose throughout the ceremonial. The corpse was decorated with brass rings, and within the putkūli were stowed jaggery, a scroll of paper adorned with cowry shells, snuff and tobacco, cocoanuts, biscuits, various kinds of grain, ghī, honey, and a tin-framed looking-glass. A long purse, containing a silver Japanese yen and an Arcot rupee of the East India Company, was tied up in the putkūli close to the feet. These preliminaries concluded, the corpse was hoisted up, and swung three times over the now burning pyre, above which a mimic bier, made of slender twigs, was held. The body was then stripped of its jewelry, and a lock of hair cut off by the daughter- [765] in-law for preservation, together with a fragment of the skull. I was told that, when the corpse is swung over [775] the pyre, the dead person goes to amnodr (the world of the dead). In this connection, Dr. Rivers writes that "it would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire; and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed, and are available for use another time. This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas themselves. [193] [763] They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive, and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence

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[177] [177] etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi." 302 A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though married five years, had borne no child. A child had, however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going [182] to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengŏd [188] temple. The following extracts from my notes will serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony at the ti mand. White curved line painted across fore- [531] head, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above. Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

[531] (3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut [165] short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead.

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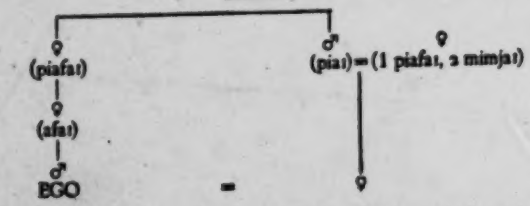
Piɬdjnɯs (Püldenir, 21) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to pɑnɯs (Paners, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him mumɑɪ. The wives of these men were sinmiɪr (Sinmir) married to piɬdjnɯs, and pæɪrgɓlj (Pergveli) married to pɑnɯs. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinmiɪr would have called pæɪrgɓlj grandmother (pinfɑɪ). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinmiɪr should have called pæɪrgɓlj mimjɑɪ (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinmiɪr's mother ocɛɦlj (Achaveli, 43) was sister to pæɪrgɓlj, both being daughters of the same mother pɯnbuɪf. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinmiɪr called pæɪrgɓlj mother (afɑɪ).

DIAGRAM 1



In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (piɑɪ) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (mumɑɪ). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (pinfɑɪ), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (mimjɑɪ) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper[14] to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers;[15] an account of the rules regulating

[14] Toda *Marriage Regulations and Taboos*.

[15] Pp. 367–71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. It grows long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight.

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535 614 765 [648] [616] dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-otjt), the rethatching of a dairy (poij-ful-fæst), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fortjt), as well as at such unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc. At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojoɪ̯, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojoɪ̯, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojoɪ̯ relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

[616] [837]

535 614 616 764 765 [837] Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the unkitj, nirj, and purɪ̯oɪ̯ sibs of the tɔɪ̯ɔs moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the tööfij moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [851] [16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimize the child (puɪ̯-mɨt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[621] [17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (ɪ̯ɛt-ɨmɨ-mod) as opposed to other munds (mɨs-mod) has been explained in my paper Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 121–21, 1938), pp. 113–15. [18] See reference in note 9 above.

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person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojo‹/ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noilkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrassing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnir (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter orlir had married pi‹/kor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mör patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points in

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kör(k)-korpo| "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pata-ezt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.